





18 Ad

An HISTORICAL  
A C C O U N T  
OF THE  
BRITISH TRADE  
OVER THE  
CASPIAN SEA:  
WITH A  
JOURNAL of TRAVELS

FROM

LONDON through RUSSIA into PERSIA; and back through  
RUSSIA, GERMANY and HOLLAND.

To which are added,

The revolutions of PERSIA during the present century, with the particular  
history of the great usurper NADIR KOULI.

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V O L. II.

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By JONAS HANWAY, Merchant.

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L O N D O N.

Sold by Mr. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall; Mr. NOURSE, Mr. MILLAR, Mr.  
VAILLANT, and Mr. PATTERSON, in the Strand; Mr. WAUGH, in Lombard-  
Street; and Mr. WILLOCK, in CORNHILL. MDCCCLIII.









TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
The LADY  
ELIZABETH GERMAIN.

MADAM,

I Can with great truth assure your LADYSHIP, that it is not without a mixture of wonder, that I reflect upon my publishing this journal of travels; to explain and illustrate which, I have been constrained to enter into an historical detail of our commerce over the CASPIAN sea. If any part of this work, should be useful to the public, the



merit is not mine, but belongs properly to your LADYSHIP, and to LORD and LADY VERE ; in compliance with whose request, the transient thoughts I had entertained on this subject, were carried into execution.

The first volume will shew, that I have not been contented with the bare office of an historian : I have ventured to give my thoughts on persons and things ; which, according to the different subjects of my reflexions, often constitute me a moralist, and sometimes a politician. Upon the whole, this is a miscellaneous work ; in the prosecution of which, I am the more exposed to fall into those inaccuracies which may tempt some to criticize, who have not the candor to consider, that I am an author by accident, and cannot be said to offend against rules, with which I do not pretend to be acquainted.

What a man has seen, he seems to have a right to relate, if he conceives it to be of such a nature as may turn to the public advantage : but the common failing of private men, is to esteem the incidents of their own life, if there be any thing in them out of the common road, of greater consequence to the public than they really are. This opinion of our own significancy will however be corrected by the judgement of the public, to which I readily submit.



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In performances of such a nature as this, if either information or instruction results from them, it is of a more extensive influence, than what arises from the perusal of the actions or sentiments of persons in a more exalted sphere of life; because the number of those who can be either informed or instructed by the memoirs of eminent statesmen or great captains, bears but a small proportion to the multitudes that may receive benefit from the observations of such as have run through scenes, in which every common reader may possibly become an actor.

To inspire the mind of a reader with the desire of acting in a manner suitable to the relation in which we stand, to the great lord of nature, as well as to our fellow-creatures, appears to me the noblest object that an author can have in view. If by adhering to this principle, I have sometimes given into religious, as well as moral reflexions, I hope it will not be thought, that I stand in need of any laboured excuse. Some indulgence is certainly due to the natural frame and constitutions of men's minds; and whoever has run through dangers and has experienced difficulties, will gradually contract somewhat of this serious disposition, how little soever he might have entertained of it before; and therefore, those who at the first perusal may dislike these remarks, in a future period of their lives, may discover that such sentiments



timents merit a better reception. To be kindly received at first sight is very agreeable ; yet to be esteemed upon reflexion is of the two, most to be desired.

To temper that seriousness which reigns throughout this book, it is requisite there should be a mixture of other matter ; for we seldom profit by writings that do not afford amusement. Such a mixture there will be found ; since my subject also leads me to treat of many great events, which for their singularity have the air of romance : some of these have hitherto escaped notice, and others have been very confusedly and imperfectly represented. Variety is the most effectual method of pleasing ; for the human mind having very different faculties, is satisfied in proportion as a smaller or greater number of these are gratified.

There has been a general, and I doubt, too just a suspicion, that in penning the story of their own travels, authors have sometimes sought to heighten the agreeableness of their relations, by deviating from, or magnifying the truth. The same notion carried a little farther, has produced ingenious fictions, susceptible of greater ornaments ; and which, though they did not inform so much, have pleased more. I dare aver, and it is my duty to aver, that there is nothing of that kind in these sheets ; and therefore, how singular soever some passages



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passages may appear, it will be only justice to believe them literally true, particularly with regard to what I relate from my own knowledge ; and as to other facts, as I have been careful to avoid being imposed upon myself, so I have endeavoured to avoid becoming the instrument of imposing falsehood upon others.

It has been long a maxim with me, that a book should be the true picture of the author's mind : such with all its imperfections I am sure is this. The folly of writing, if it be one, is a folly I shall never commit again ; and having taken this resolution, I have said all that I have to communicate to the public.

Whatever the fate of my endeavours may be, I shall still hope for the continuance of your LADYSHIP's protection. If the strongest sense of gratitude ; if the most profound veneration for the qualities you possess ; and more especially for that unwearied beneficence which is your peculiar characteristic, ought to merit your esteem, I shall always preserve a just title to it. In saying this I commend myself, without paying half the tribute that is due to your virtues, which are too great, and too numerous, to be concealed from the world. I conclude this long address with the most zealous wishes, that providence may prolong the thread of  
your



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D E D I C A T I O N.

your life, to be a blessing to the humble and poor, and a shining example to the great and happy. I am, with the most sincere respect,

M A D A M,

Y O U R L A D Y S H I P ' S

London,  
January, 1753.

most obliged, and

most devoted

servant,

Jonas Hanway.



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## E R R A T A omitted in the FIRST VOLUME.

P Age xii. line 18. for Thus, read This. p. 19. l. 30. one of, r. in one of. p. 24. l. 24. dele would have. p. 117. l. 20. me had, r. me he had. p. 130. l. 1. dele been. p. 190. l. 29. intending, r. intended. p. 218. l. 4. dele to. p. 236. l. 20. join, r. join. p. 269. l. 26. ingeniousness, r. ingenuoufness. p. 276. l. 11. painted, r. pointed. p. 229. l. 15. rotund as, r. rotundas. p. 306. l. 1. well, r. as well. p. 311. l. 1. fighting, r. fighting. p. 315. l. 3. left, r. least. p. 324. l. 6. this, r. the. p. 380. l. 14. ZOZOASTER, r. ZOROASTER. p. 386. l. 20. not be, r. not to be.

## E R R A T A to the SECOND VOLUME.

P Age 29. lines 4 and 8. for ORMU, read ORMUS. p. 66. l. 2. too, r. to. p. 134. l. 20. majory, r. majority. p. 138. l. 9. is is, r. it is. p. 159. l. 32. RAIHLEIGH, r. RASHLEIGH. p. 185. l. 15. or, r. for. p. 194. l. 14. dele and. p. 197. l. 31. amicable, r. amiable. p. 200. l. 4. this, r. his. p. 206. l. 12. dele as. p. ditto, l. 22. dele to. p. 217. l. 23. his PRUSSIAN, r. his PRUSSIAN majesty. p. 218. l. 13. obtain in, r. obtain. p. 246. l. 26. HOLIFERNES, r. HOLOFERNES. p. 309. l. 34. 600,000, r. 6,000,000. p. 313. l. 3. The, r. But the. p. 328. l. 13. stadtholdership, r. the stadtholdership.



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P A R T I.  
T H E  
A U T H O R'S R E T U R N  
F R O M  
P E R S I A T O R U S S I A,  
W I T H

An historical account of the CASPIAN trade, to the prohibition of it.

C H A P. I.

*The author returns to RUSSIA with a cargo of raw silk. A barge sent up the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN with letters is plundered, and the crew murdered. The author performs quarantain, and goes up to ASTRACHAN.*

**I** HAVE thus discharged the duty I imposed on myself to give a description of the CASPIAN sea and its shores, from modern and authentic relations, corroborated by my own experience. Having also given

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a particular account of my own adventures and observations in PERSIA, I now prepare to leave that country.

On the 13th of September, 1744, I left RESHD, and arrived at PERYBAZAR, intending to depart for ASTRACHAN. Here we embarked in a flat bottomed PERSIAN boat, to go down the canal formed by the inroads of the sea: the reeds through which we passed sent forth an ungrateful stench. The sand bank on the bar of ENZELLE is often shifted by the north winds, which usually create a great surge, and render it difficult to get off the shore. In about five hours we reached the peninsula of ENZELLE, where the RUSSIAN consul BAKOONIN, and several merchants of that nation had taken up their lodgings in tents, for the convenience of the pure air, and for the easier communication with their ships. I visited the consul, and desired, as there was no plague or epidemical distemper in GHILAN, that he would grant a bill of health for captain WOODROOFE's crew and passengers. Upon which he required me to send on shore two of our RUSSIAN seamen, who wanted to leave the ship, though we could not conveniently navigate her without them: as I knew that he had given countenance to these mutinous fellows, I desired to be excused. He then demanded in very imperious terms, if I acknowledged him as her imperial majesty's consul. I answered in the affirmative, and that otherwise I should not have applied to him for a bill of health. "As such then, replied he, I demand the two RUSSIAN subjects." Upon this occasion he took the liberty to tell me with some warmth, that I opposed his measures, and had been continually intriguing since I came into PERSIA. What he meant I know not, nor do I believe he knew his own meaning; this I know, that he was too much an enemy of our trade, to relish my endeavours to establish it. If moderate presents and a decent deportment could have made him our friend, the factors either in GHILAN, or in St. PETERSBURG, were not wanting in this respect; but he seemed determined to oppose our interests. I contented myself with laughing in his face, in return for this vague and idle accusation, but as he gave his word of honour, that the men should return on board according to their engagement to serve the ship, I consented

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Chap. I. THE AUTHOR RETURNS TO RUSSIA. 3

ed to their coming ashore : we parted in a civil manner, and upon his giving us a bill of health, I went on board.

Though the success which we had at ASTRABAD, was no more than an effect of what has been always considered as one of the antient laws and customs of PERSIA ; yet in the distressed state of that country, had it not been for ELTON's connexions, and the SHAH's pride in appearing superior to these rebellions, we might not have had such good fortune. The whole sum hitherto recovered, was faithfully invested in raw silk, which after so many perils, I had now the satisfaction to see safe on board ; upon which we departed.

The 29th of September, after a passage of 13 days, we came to anchor at YERKIE : here we were visited by the commander of the guardship, who informed us, that if we had any other goods on board but such as were of the produce of GHILAN, and did not declare them, the law made it death to the offender, besides burning the ship and cargo. Mr. BAKOONIN, the RUSSIAN consul, had represented to the governor of AS-TRACHAN, that there was a plague at CASHAN, from whence manufactured PERSIAN goods were wont to be brought into RUSSIA. The commander having required us to come on shore, we went to a small uninhabited island, on the east side of the entrance of the VOLGA. A fire being made, the surgeon and his attendants took the windward of us, and demanded to see our breasts, as is usual in such cases ; and after he was satisfied that we had no infection, our letters were delivered to him, being first dipped in vinegar, and dried in the smoke. The next day the commander sent for the captain and myself to come on shore, on the same island, where we were a second time interrogated if we had any CASHAN goods on board, and by virtue of an order he had received for that purpose, required of us to declare in writing in what places we had been since we left RUSSIA.

The 1st of October, we found the water fall from 12 to 9  $\frac{1}{2}$  feet, so that we lay near the ground ; but the danger was not great, because the winds, which create a swell, raised the water also. On the 2d, the wind



blew so hard at south west, that the RUSSIAN ship which departed from GHILAN in our company, having lost her sheet anchor, was driven on shore at CHETIRIE BOGORIE, and in no small danger of being plundered by the KHALMUCKS. After we had waited here with impatience till the 11th of October, in very cold and disagreeable weather, without any supplies of fresh provision; a signal was at length made by the guard-ship, for us to come on board. Here we had the mortification to learn, that we were ordered to perform a quarantain of six weeks on an uninhabited island, a little to the eastward; but it was impossible for us to execute this order, in all its parts, as there was not sufficient water for our ship by two feet. However, the news which afflicted us most was, the loss of all our letters, dispatches, and passports, with the lives of twelve soldiers: for one of the EMPRESS'S boats which was sent up eleven days before, had been attacked on the way by the KHALMUCKS, and the whole crew murdered. Upon this two boats well armed were sent up the river in search of these barbarians who had committed this outrage. At length on the 16th, I received letters from the ENGLISH agent in ASTRACHAN, acquainting me that captain WOODROOFE'S ship and crew were ordered to perform a quarantain of twelve weeks instead of six, and that neither the ship nor myself would be permitted to return to PERSIA in quarantain. The whole secret of the affair was, that her imperial majesty's ministers finding that Mr. ELTON was deeply engaged in projects, which they considered as detrimental to the RUSSIAN empire, had given orders to the governor of ASTRACHAN, not only to prevent any goods going to the consignment of Mr. ELTON; which was naturally considered as a prelude to the total prohibition of the trade; but also to detain the two BRITISH ships as soon as they should arrive. However, six weeks quarantain would answer the purpose as well as a longer time, and in the issue it was reduced to that period.

The governor of ASTRACHAN, apprehending that I might have something to communicate to him, permitted me to come to the city, on condition of remaining a week longer in quarantain, detached from the crew, and without bringing with me the least part of my cloaths or baggage. Having therefore given the necessary orders for landing the silk,  
the



Chap. I. THE AUTHOR RETURNS TO RUSSIA. 5

the 20th I went up a little branch of the VOLGA, and landed on the island CARAZA, now appointed for quarantain, where we found several warehouses and habitations, with a command of thirty soldiers. Here lodgings were appointed for me in a house detached from the crew, and the other passengers. The RUSSIAN seamen were now become so mutinous, that the master was obliged to put them on shore.

My quarantain being expired, on the 26th the governor of ASTRACHAN sent me his barge rowed by twelve granadiers, with some of his own cloaths, for I was required to strip myself entirely naked in the open air; and pass through the unpleasant ceremony of having a large pail of warm water thrown upon me. Having gone through this discipline, I embarked for ASTRACHAN. The VOLGA about this place falls into a multiplicity of channels; and as the weather was hazy, it was with difficulty we found our way into the great stream. We were soon informed, that four boats of KHALMUCK robbers were in the river; so that self-preservation called on us to be on our guard. In the way we fell in with a command of soldiers searching the creeks for these barbarians. In the evening we got to the noted fishery of LAVRINTIE IWANNICH, where we rested. Here I observed very large dogs, like ENGLISH mastiffs, but not so fierce; also immense quantities of fish, which are prepared with salt, and laid up in large piles.

The 27th, we arrived safe in ASTRACHAN, where I received information of what had passed in LONDON and St. PETERSBURG, for several months before, in relation to ELTON and our unhappy CASPIAN trade. The next day I waited on the governor, whose behaviour was now very different from what it had been twelve months before. He was reserved upon the article of our trade in general, though very inquisitive concerning ELTON. I took notice to him, that I found myself in some disgrace in RUSSIA, on account of my supposed connexion with ELTON; though, in reality, we were entirely separated, his pursuits and mine being of a very different nature. It was plain from his discourse, that he thought this separation was political only; but he was too polite to tell me so in express terms. I did not appear before him with an empty hand, yet  
his



his behaviour was hardly within the limits of civility. The reproach which I presume he was under for indulging us, had now changed his conduct in such a manner, as if it had been criminal to appear an advocate for our trade. This was the situation of our commerce on the CASPIAN side, whilst the traders at home were at some loss, to whom they should now consign a large quantity of woollen goods laid up in this place, especially as the market in GHILAN was glutted.

I passed my hours very disagreeably, being for the second time since I left St. PETERSBURG, separated from all my cloaths, servants, and conveniences of life, and detained in a civil quarantain; for I was not permitted to depart for St. PETERSBURG, till the six weeks were expired. This place afforded no amusement; nor had I any inclination to read, my thoughts being too much taken up, or rather perplexed with the unhappy situation of our commerce. During my abode in ASTRACHAN, I had a remarkable proof of the nature of military governments. None of the RUSSIAN merchants wear swords, except those who are immediately employed by the crown, in some particular office; nor are they entitled to military rank. This distinction I experienced; for on the same spot on which I happened to be insulted, when I wore no sword, soon after this accident the mistaken compliments of the military honours were bestowed upon me by the guard, for no other reason than being armed with this weapon.

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## C H A P. II.

*The author leaves ASTRACHAN, and travels to MOSCO, where he visits the  
BRITISH ambassador.*

THE 22d of November, I obtained permission to depart for St. PETERSBURG. The VOLGA was covered with floating ice, infomuch that no boatmen would undertake to carry me to ZARITZEN; therefore I resolved to travel by land on the western banks of that river. As I had with me but two servants, I thought it necessary to join a caravan, the KHALMUCKS having lately committed several murders on that road.

Upon



## Chap. II. JOURNEY FROM ASTRACHAN TO MOSCO. 7

Upon enquiry, I was informed that BOGDANOFF the secretary of the salt-office at ASTRACHAN, and several RUSSIAN merchants, under the convoy of five coffacks, were then ready for departure. I embraced the opportunity of their company, and crossed the VOLGA.

The 23d, we lost our way for some hours, the desert being full of hills, and in many places very sandy. Towards the evening, the RUSSIANS pitched their TARTAR KABITKAS<sup>a</sup>; I preferred sleeping in my waggon, where I was better sheltered from the injuries of the weather. The next day we travelled about 30 wersts in a sandy road, without seeing any object, but a wide extended plain. At night we procured a supply of wood and hay, from a fishery on the VOLGA; we also received the agreeable news, that a boat loaded with provisions, which my fellow travellers had ordered to be sent after them from ASTRACHAN, happily found a passage through the ice, and was come near our encampment. I observed here many human skulls, as if the place had been a field of battle; for the KHALMUCKS always leave their dead uninterred. Upon examining several of these skulls, I could not discover any futures, which I imagined were necessary for the functions of animal life<sup>b</sup>. In winter these wandering TARTARS fly from the rigors of the cold, to the southern extremity of their wild dominions.

The 25th, the road continued sandy, so that we could not travel above 30 wersts in a day. On the 26th, we arrived at the fortification called ENATAFFSKI KREPOST, 120 wersts from ASTRACHAN: here is a village in which two regiments of infantry, and one of dragoons were quartered. The fortification consists of a deep ditch, secured with a breastwork, and well provided with artillery. Though this settlement had been made only the summer before, yet it was well supplied with the necessities of life, and from its situation promised great improvement. It stands on an eminence, about half a werst from the VOLGA, a small branch of which runs into the valley just below it, and forms a peninsula; the adjacent country is well wooded, and the soil rich. These settlements are of

<sup>a</sup> Tents. <sup>b</sup> The learned in surgery report, that the futures in some particular persons, are by age or accident obliterated; but they doubt if there is any race of men without futures.



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great advantage to the RUSSIAN empire, for at the same time as they awe the TARTARS, and prevent their incursions, they open a trade with them for sheep and horses; and in some places for richer commodities.

The 27th, we proceeded fifteen wersts to another KREPOST, where we took a supply of wood and water, intending to travel in the night. On the 28th, the weather grew more severe, and the snow made wheel carriages very laborious, particularly to the horses in our TARTAR cart, which was loaded with tents and provisions. The next day we met a large caravan going to ASTRACHAN, which informed us that five persons were missing in ZARITZEN and CHERNOYARE, and as a bloody shirt had been found on the way, it was concluded they were murdered. Upon this we gave orders to our coffacks, to keep a stricter watch than usual. Some of the company who had been impatient to proceed forwards, and intended to leave us, now thought it improper to separate from the caravan. The 30th, we arrived at CHERNOYARE, where I had stopped in coming down the VOLGA the year before. Near this place, the KHALMUCK prince, and his flying court, were used to reside. Large posts were set up at certain distances on the adjacent plains, on which they intended to hang out signals, in case of an incursion of any great bodies of the TARTARS; by this means they might communicate the alarm from one fortification to another. Opposite to this place is a rich mine of rock salt, which contributes largely to the revenues of the empire. The VOLGA was now full of floating ice, which rendered the passage of it impracticable, and cut off the communication with ASTRACHAN.

On the 1st of December, our company divided, on which occasion I preferred the party that intended to make the most dispatch; this day we travelled 70 wersts. The 2d, we found a RUSSIAN waggon, and the harnesses of several horses belonging to the five persons who had been really murdered. We travelled the same distance as yesterday, and the day following we arrived at ZARITZEN.

As the snow now rendered the roads impracticable for wheel carriages, I set my waggon on a sledge. During my stay here, I dined with the



the secretary, who acted as sub-governor of the place. He presented his wife to the company, who saluted her according to custom. She then offered a salver with small silver cups<sup>c</sup> of brandy, which was repeated after dinner, but she did not sit with us at table. I was not more amazed at the profusion of meats than at the badness of the cookery: The quantity of beer, quash<sup>d</sup>, and bad wine which my companions swallowed, was also prodigious; but it was a feast of friendship, and the intent of it to reconcile the ASTRACHAN secretary and one of the principal merchants of that city who had quarrelled: Their healths being drunk, the master of the house obliged them to kiss each other. They were then saluted by all the company in the same manner; and, to compleat the farce, they immediately reproached each other for past injuries.

On the 6th, I took my leave of my RUSSIAN friends, and departed from ZARITZEN, attended by two servants. We travelled 30 wersts to a village under the lines of communication from the VOLGA to the DON. The 7th, the cold weather increased so much, that the frost seized very strong wine which was under my feather bed. We travelled about 30 wersts to CASHALIENA, situated on the DON: The inhabitants here are a mixture of RUSSIANS and CIRCASSIANS; they are poor but blessed with liberty, having a HETMAN independent of the government of ZARITZEN. In four days more we had travelled only 220 wersts from CASHALIENA, and not without losing our way several times, the snow being yet untrodden. It often happens, particularly on the YAEIK STEP, that passengers who do not provide a compass, lose their way and perish. The winds now blew hard and excessive cold, so that our carriers could not face it, but were more than once obliged to halt.

The 12th, we reached MICHAELOVE. This place is the grand mart of the COSSACK towns. They hold their fair in January, when the merchants of CASAN bring woollen and other manufactures, for which the COSSACKS exchange the furs of foxes, taken near the DON. The next day we travelled to NOVOCHOPERSKAJA, the RUSSIAN barrier on

<sup>c</sup> They call them CHARKA.  
boiled up.

<sup>d</sup> A species of small beer, being a second preparation of it



the river *CHOPER*, and from thence we proceeded 60 wersts. In the evening we stopt at *BRUSANO*, where the inhabitants informed us that a band of robbers had broken into two houses the night before, and plundered them; they had moreover tortured the peasants, by putting fire between their fingers to oblige them to deliver their money. These robbers had taken the road to *TAMBOVE*, and were so closely pursued, that we found hams and other provisions which they had dropped in their flight.

The 14th, we travelled 40 wersts, and arrived at a post hut on the desert, where we met the *KHALMUCK* embassador, attended by several *RUSSIAN* officers returning from *MOSCO*, whither he and his retinue go yearly to eat wholesome food, and obtain the present of a coat. From thence we proceeded to *KUSMINKA*, and the 15th we reached the city of *TAMBOVE*, situated on the river *SNA*. The next day proceeding 80 wersts we arrived at *KOSLOVE*: this is a large city, but all the houses are of wood, and make a very mean appearance. Here is a monastery where the monks maintain themselves chiefly by their own labour, and are consequently no great burthen to the society. The 17th, we arrived at *ORANIENBURG*, a fort 60 wersts from *KOSLOVE*, built by the once famous prince *MENZIKOFF*, who had the grant of a certain duty on the merchandize which is carried this way: In this place state prisoners are sometimes confined.

The 18th, we advanced 40 wersts, passing through many villages surrounded with arable lands, and well watered. The woods which the eye every way meets at certain distances, contribute much to beautify the prospect; but this was no season for rural pleasures. The 20th, these two days we travelled about 150 wersts. Upon the road we had frequent opportunities of observing in what manner the peasants render their houses habitable in cold weather. As few of them have any chimneys, the smoak of their stoves is carried out through the windows; but this method leaves so thick a cloud, that 'tis impossible to breathe above two or three feet from the floor till the wood is burnt to ashes; and consequently those who would not be suffocated must crawl in upon their hands. The 21st, we arrived at *KHOLUMNA*, an antient city, of which  
I have



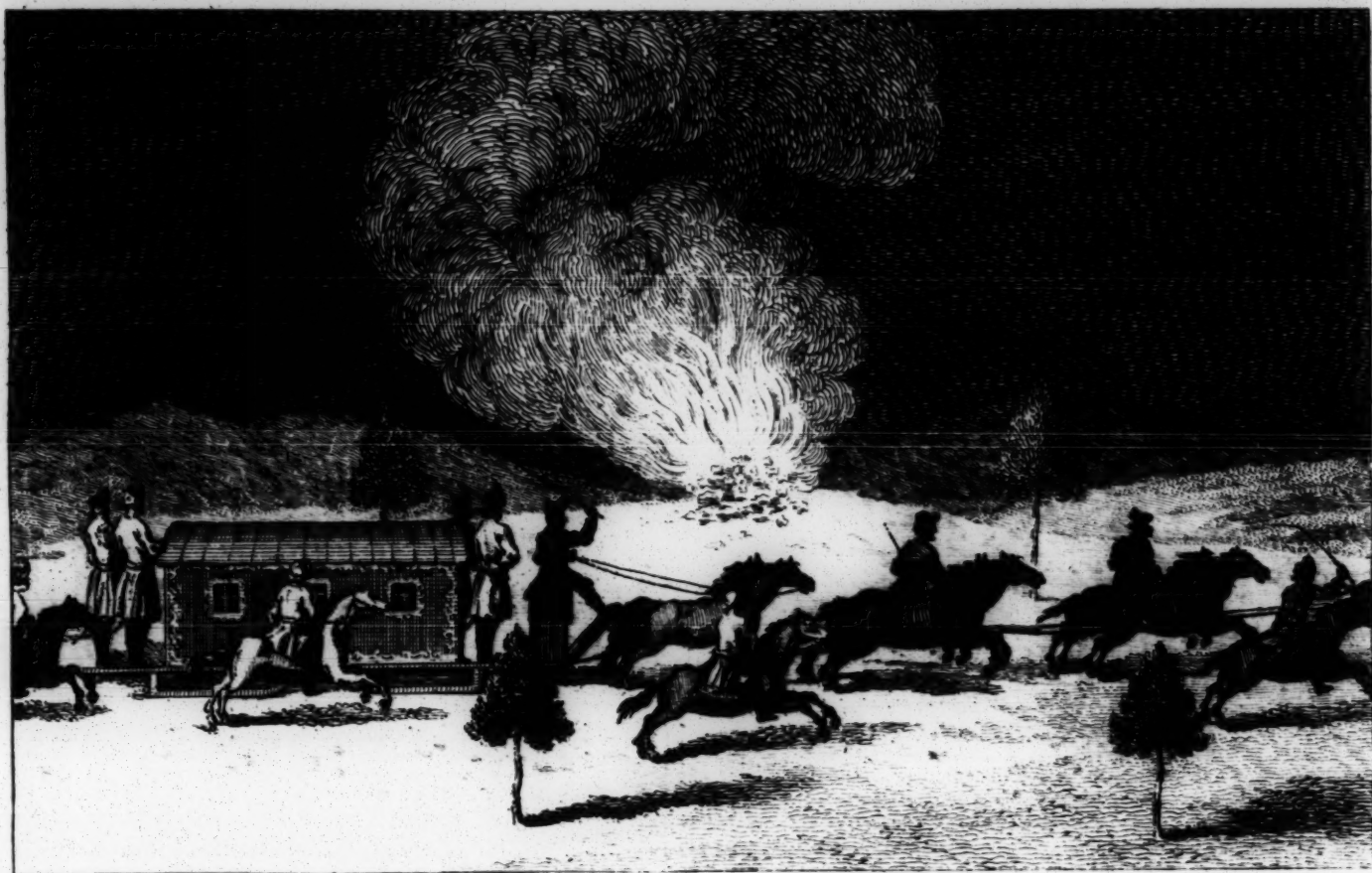
Chap. II. JOURNEY FROM ASTRACHAN TO MOSCO. 11

I have already made mention in my journey to PERSIA. This being the season that the peasants send their tributes to their lords, the roads were crowded with carts loaded with provisions of every kind.

The 22d, we arrived in MOSCO, where I was very kindly received by Mr. JOHN TAMESZ. Here I received letters acquainting me with the death of a relation, by which I reaped certain pecuniary advantages, much exceeding any I could expect from my engagement in the CASPIAN affairs: providence was thus indulgent to me, as if it meant to reward me for the sincerity of my endeavours.

LORD TYRAWLEY, the BRITISH ambassador, was preparing to set out the next day for St. PETERSBURG, the court being already gone for that place some few days before. My lord had laboured to reconcile the RUSSIAN court to Mr. ELTON, his conduct having been represented as subservient to the interest of the trade. The steady opposition of the court had however obliged the RUSSIA company to a submission, and the ambassador referred the matter to Mr. WOLFF, who was at this time appointed his majesty's consul at St. PETERSBURG. I thought it my duty to wait on his lordship on this occasion, but his hearing being at that time impaired by a cold, as was my voice with the same distemper; this conference, the only one I ever had with his lordship, was very short.





### C H A P. III.

*The author leaves MOSCO and arrives at St. PETERSBURG. The manner in which the EMPRESS of RUSSIA travels. Moral reflexions on credulity and prejudices, in relation to the conduct of Mr. ELTON.*

THE kindness of Mr. TAMESZ, and my own indisposition, engaged me to stay in MOSCO till the 28th of December. I had in the interim provided a light sledge, being determined to travel post, to avoid the delays I had suffered in coming from ZARITZEN.

The great duke was now taken ill on the road with the small pox, so that great part of the court remained at CATILLOWA, and the horses being kept for their use, I was obliged to travel with the same cattle two or three stages together. Nothing can be accommodated more for ease and dispatch than travelling in sledges in frosty weather, when the snow is well trodden: As a proof of this, I may mention, that I slept without waking whilst I was carried 100 wersts<sup>e</sup>. The whole road was now marked out with young fir-trees set in the snow on both sides, at the distance of about 20 yards; the consumption on these occasions, at a mo-

<sup>e</sup> 66 ENGLISH miles.



derate computation, is 128,480 trees. There were also great piles of wood at certain distances, to be set on fire to give light to the EMPRESS and her court, if they passed by in the night. Her imperial majesty is drawn on these occasions in a large machine, which contains her bed, a table, and other conveniencies, where four persons may take a repast. This machine is set on a sledge, and drawn by 24 post horses. If any of them fail on the road, others are ready to supply their place. She is generally three days and three nights on the way. There are several small palaces on the road, where she sometimes stops to refresh herself. PETER the GREAT once made the journey to St. PETERSBURG in 46 hours, being 488 ENGLISH miles; but it may be easily imagined this prince's carriage was of a very different kind from that of the EMPRESS, his daughter.

Early on the 1st of January 1745, I arrived in St. PETERSBURG, having performed the journey from MOSCO in about three days and a half. I had been absent a year and 16 weeks, in which time I had travelled about 4000 ENGLISH miles by land, through a variety of adventures and accidents, not indeed the most perilous, yet such as loudly called for a grateful acknowledgement of the goodness of providence.

I have already made some reflections<sup>f</sup> on Mr. ELTON's breach with me, at a time when I neither did, nor intended him any harm; on the contrary, that we might finish with him in an amicable manner, I offered him a sum of 10,000 crowns, in lieu of several demands, which however appeared to me to have very little foundation in justice. The circumstances I now was under, revived the remembrance of this incident. Tho' the quarrels of private persons seldom deserve a place in public relations, yet they sometimes serve as lessons of instruction, inasmuch as we learn from them how men are transported by their resentments, or how moderated by a love of justice and charity. What I have said against Mr. ELTON, I hope my reader will impute to the love of justice, the desire of self-vindication, and my impartial regard to historical truth: though I must confess it is next to impossible for a man to answer for his

<sup>f</sup> Vol. I. chap. 49.



own heart, as to those mixtures of malignity which seem to be inseparable from human nature.

Mr. ELTON was jealous of the reports I might make concerning his engagement and other connexions: In order to invalidate these, in case I should represent things in an unfavourable light for him, he strove to prevent my obtaining in RUSSIA the justice he had arbitrarily withheld from me in PERSIA. I had now the mortification in St. PETERSBURG to find several persons, who, to use no harsher expression, were become my opponents, because they imagined it to be their interest. Few mens hearts are so corrupt as to offend in a case of this nature, with their eyes open, yet things always appear to some of the colour, in which the medium of their interest represents them.

Men who act upon principles of honour, and with a zeal for the interest they espouse, very often flatter themselves into a security founded in the consciousness of their own innocence: their confidence is thus apt to create a contempt of falsehood, however artfully disguised under the appearance of truth; and they are from the very frame of their minds, exposed to be wounded by the arts of malice; these being weapons they never use; and consequently do not always learn how to guard against them. A plaintive strain is also as ill calculated to charm the generality of men into a love of justice, as it is fruitless towards the advancement of our interest in the world. The goodness of men's characters in general, prevails but little, except with those who love virtue themselves; so that complaints not supported with evidence, nor enforced by authority, are seldom listened to. A great delicacy of sentiment proves how we would live in a world which we frame to our fancies, rather than teaches how to conduct ourselves in the busy part of real life. It is also melancholy to consider, how great a propensity there is in most people, to listen to injurious reports of others, and to demand the most indubitable proof of their innocence, whilst they take the most trivial evidence of their guilt. And as to gratitude, which men of contemplative minds are apt to deify; though the goodness of the heart is more concerned in it than the strength of the understanding, yet in many cases these must go together:



ther: for when the mind is warped by prejudices, and wrong notices of things, gratitude seldom has its force; for the service asked, and the service done, can have the same aspect, only to minds rightly cultivated and informed. But there is perhaps much less ingratitude in the world than men complain of; for as we generally constitute ourselves the judges of our own merit, it is more than probable we shall sometimes over-rate it: the consequence of which produces, I believe, more than half the resentments in the world. Besides, mankind are seldom satisfied with acting right, unless they meet applause; but this likewise is a conduct in a great measure repugnant to the true notion of virtue.

To apply this moral to my own story; I acquitted my correspondents, in some measure, for mistaken apprehensions, into which I might have been myself betrayed in their circumstances. Our trade had a gloomy aspect: it was not surprising that fears and jealousy should arise; for this is generally the case in such a state of things; and 'tis sometimes hard to distinguish friends from foes: but they honourably referred the several matters in dispute, which were at length happily determined in my favour, by impartial arbitrators. I obtained my own; and as to any other personal advantage, it consisted in exercising my mind in patience under trials, and increasing my knowledge of the world.

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#### C H A P. IV.

*An account of the quantity and different sorts of silk produced in the northern provinces of PERSIA. Manner of ordering silk worms, and of buying silk in GHILAN.*

I WAS now happily arrived at St. PETERSBURG, where I resided about five years. During this time my journal is of course discontinued: I shall therefore proceed in the historical account of the CASPIAN trade, till the period of its dissolution; first making a few previous and necessary remarks.

There are doubtless many accounts of raw silk, from its original appearance to the beautiful manufactures made of it, much superior to any  
I am



I qualified to give; yet it will not, I think, be improper to mention this, among such other particulars as occurred to my observation, during my short abode in PERSIA. If we may judge from the duties paid in RESHD, the trade began to flourish on our arrival there; for in 1742 the customs amounted only to 20,000 crowns, but in 1743 they rose to 50,000, and made about the same sum in 1744. The annual produce of GHILAN in good times, I compute to be 30,000 batmans<sup>s</sup> of raw filk, of which about 6000 are consumed in PERSIA, 4000 sent to BABYLON, and the remainder over the CASPIAN sea. SHIRVAN formerly produced a large quantity, but that province is now in a much worse condition than GHILAN. This commodity is brought to market all the year round, in greater or smaller quantities, but chiefly in August and September. They have several kinds of it, the first is called SHERBAFF, or weavers filk, because the weavers, particularly in RESHD and CASHAN, are supposed to use the best they can procure; but what generally goes for the PERSIAN fabrics at CASHAN is the finest sort, the threads of which are more split; this is usually all white, whereas the other is white and yellow; nor is it wound off so short, so that though finer we do not esteem it so much as SHERBAFF. There is also a sort called ARABS, from being bought up for the most part by ARABIANS, who send it into TURKEY, where it is afterwards manufactured.

GHILAN produces the best and greatest quantities of filk; next to this come SHIRVAN and ERIVAN, then MAZANDERAN and lastly ASTRABAD; but the latter is vastly inferior, serving only for a manufacture mixed with cotton, of which they make their shirts and drawers. GHILAN filk is sent into RUSSIA and TURKEY, and part of it is kept for the PERSIAN manufactures; but that of MAZANDERAN and ASTRABAD is seldom or ever exported. From SHIRVAN they formerly sent all their filk to TURKEY and RUSSIA. The peasants of GHILAN perceiving that the ENGLISH required the SHERBAFF to be short wound, prepared it in that manner, and the filk proved good, and was much esteemed by our manufacturers. The peasants gave this reason for chusing to have their

<sup>s</sup> 240,000 great pounds.



filk long wound : in moist weather the filk wound on a large wheel is not so apt to stick or be gummed together, in those parts where it lays on the bars, or divisions of the wheel, where it is often rendered black, and so hard that it cannot without great difficulty be separated, besides, with a large wheel they make more dispatch ; but all this time they did not consider the inconveniency of winding it off to be manufactured. These peasants are extremely tenacious with regard to the price of their filk : their business is usually done by brokers, but the buyer attends to pay the money. They sell it in small quantities, so that a cargo cannot always be collected. Besides this inconvenience, there is that of bad money, for they are often obliged to cut it through, in order to see that it is not copper silvered over. Their jealousy ran so high, that the governor of GHILAN once published an order, that whoever refused any kind of money, except it was manifestly bad, his ears and nose should be cut off, and his estate confiscated : but I never heard that this order was carried into execution.

The filk worm, as is well known, takes its birth from an egg no bigger than a small pin's head. In the month of March, when the sun is already very warm, I observed the peasants in GHILAN prepare to give life to the eggs which they had preserved during the winter, carrying them for the most part about them, in the warmest part of their bodies, and particularly under their arms. In ten or more days, according to the heat it receives, it becomes a maggot and begins to feed : the shrub mulberry-trees which are annually pruned, produce the most tender and proper leaves for their food. In about 40 days the worm arrives to its maturity, and winds itself by daily gradations into a pod of filk as big as a pigeon's egg. When this egg is completely formed, which is usually known by the silence of the worm within, they suffocate it by covering it with blankets, or by the heat of the sun ; unless they wind off the filk immediately, for then warm water answers the same purpose. Some of them however must be permitted to live and perforate the pod, for when it breaks from its enclosure it casts its seed or eggs, by means of which the generation is preserved. From the pods thus perforated the filk cannot



be wound off as from the others, but being prepared by pounding, it is spun off like cotton yarn. This filk we call *KEDGE*, the remains or refuse of which is so inferior, as to admit only of being milled and made into filk wadding.

The cleanness and clearness of raw filk constitute a great part of its goodness; inferior filk has many knits and coarse stuff sticking to the threads. The *moss*, or head of filk, often appears fair to the eye, when much coarseness is concealed under it; for it is a trick of the peasants of *GHILAN*, to hide the defects as they wind it off from the pod. The best filk has constantly a gloss or brightness: the white or silver-coloured is most esteemed, but in *GHILAN* the greatest part comes yellow from the worm. White filk that is soiled, is generally found to have lain in a moist place, which hurts its strength as well as beauty. Silk should be equal, strong, and round as wire, and also clean; the greatest part of it should be in a medium with regard to fineness, for the finest is not the easiest to manufacture to advantage. The threads of filk being thus even, that is, as near as possible of one size, and not coarse and fine intermixed, can be most easily separated in the winding; but otherwise the coarse is apt to tear the fine, and make waste in manufacturing it. The size which we usually most esteem, is wound off 16 or 18 pods or cocoons. A *moss*, which is about 60 inches in the round, can be most conveniently reeled off; longer is not approved of, and if shorter it is apt to break by the quick revolutions of the reel, being glued together with its own gum. It is also to be observed, that there is a vast difference between filk cleaned by combing, and that which remains just as it came from the pod. The former to an unskilful person, who does not observe the broken threads and the ends of the combings, shall look better than the latter, though it be considerably worse.

When the *ARMENIANS* and *RUSSIANS* pack up their filk, they generally comb the heads of the *mosses* to deceive the buyer, but this makes it really worse, because it hurts it in the winding off. These people, who were never famed for probity, have long practised the art of false package. Hence, at *SMYRNA*, and *ALEPPO*, where the *ARMENIANS* sell their  
filk



filk to the factors of our TURKEY company, as likewise in RUSSIA, it has often been rejected upon that account; especially as they hold it a constant maxim, not to suffer their bales to be broken up except at the heads. The price of filk in GHILAN generally arises in proportion to the advance on foreign goods, except in a very great scarcity, as of late. During the course of the BRITISH CASPIAN trade, we found it vary from 12 to 18 crowns the batman<sup>h</sup>; it was generally about 15, but within these two or three last years, the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS have paid from 30 to 40 crowns.

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## C H A P. V.

*The kinds of EUROPEAN goods which the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS vend in the northern provinces of PERSIA, with a succinct account of the PERSIAN weights, measures, and coins.*

I SHALL finish this short view of the trade of PERSIA, by giving a general idea of the different kinds of EUROPEAN goods which the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS now vend in the northern provinces of that kingdom, with an account of the coins, weights and measures, according to the best informations I could procure; but I must observe that there seems to be a great discordance among writers in this particular. The chief demand of EUROPEAN goods, next to DUTCH cloth, is for BRITISH woollens, such as hair-list drabs of 12 to 19 l. per peice of 37 yards in white, which the PERSIANS call BEGREST: of these they usually consume nine bales in 30.

GLOUCESTER cloths of about 9 l. 10 s. to 11 l. 10 s. per piece, of 42 yards in white, which the PERSIANS call MAGHOOT, and consume thereof 10 bales in 30.

Ordinary YORKSHIRE cloths of about 3 s. 6 d. per yard dyed, which the PERSIANS call LONDORA, and consume thereof 11 bales in 30.

Five bales of shalloon of a middling quality, are ordinarily required in 100 bales of cloth.



From HOLLAND they reckon one bale of MAGHOOT, one of shalloons, and one of long ells, to 10 bales of BEGREST.

ENGLISH embossed cloth is also demanded; likewise indigo, cochineal, and in good times, some rich filks, gold and silver lace, velvets, and other rich manufactures.

The PERSIANS had been long accustomed to DUTCH cloths, which were thicker, and for the most part better shorn, and of a softer and finer wool, the crimson and scarlets of a finer dye; but they were dearer than ours. However after two or three years we improved some of our drabs, so as to be almost equal to the DUTCH cloths in substance, and, in my judgement, superior in softness and beauty.

The transit duty in RUSSIA is 3 per cent. on the value, with an agio of 150 per cent; which, with other petty charges, makes it about 8 per cent only in the custom house. In PERSIA the duty on EUROPEAN goods is 5 per cent. on the value.

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE MONEY IN PERSIA.

The TOMAN, BISTIE, and DENAER are imaginary, but the other denominations are real; the valuation and currency of silver money are, viz.

|                                                                                                                                                                                       | Value in<br>denaers. | Weight in<br>musals. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| A toman is 10 hazardenaers.                                                                                                                                                           | 10000                | 50                   |
| It must be observed that the hazardenaer (which the<br>ENGLISH called mill denaer, and the RUSSIANS a<br>ruble) is computed by EUROPEANS, and accounts<br>kept in hundreds. - - - - - | 100                  |                      |
| Consequently the same in lower denominations, viz.                                                                                                                                    |                      |                      |
| Peng fid denaer, or rupie, or nadirie - - - - -                                                                                                                                       | 50                   | 2½                   |
| Sifid denaer, or shis shahie - - - - -                                                                                                                                                | 30                   | 1½                   |
| Abaffie - - - - -                                                                                                                                                                     | 20                   | 1                    |
| Sid denaer, or mahmudie - - - - -                                                                                                                                                     | 10                   |                      |
| Shahie, or fahie - - - - -                                                                                                                                                            | 5                    |                      |

Bistie



|                    | Value in<br>denaers. | Weight in<br>muscal. |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Biftie - - - - -   | -                    | 2                    |
| Kazbekie - - - - - | -                    | $\frac{1}{2}$        |

An ENGLISH crown melted down in RESHD, produced at 17 denaers<sup>i</sup> per muscal, only 95 denaers; but we always computed the mildenaer or 100 denaers, equal to an ENGLISH crown of 5 s.

### THE GOLD COINS CURRENT ARE

|                                                      | Value. | Weight in muscals and nackoot<br>or karrats, 24 = 1 muscal. |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Muhr ashreffie, or treble ducat of }<br>6 mildenaer. | 6—00   | 2 9                                                         |
| Ashreffie, or old ducat. - -                         | 1—80   | 0 18—equal in fineness to<br>a HOLLANDS ducat.              |
| D° shah nadir, or new ducat. -                       | 1—80   | 0 18                                                        |
| D° of mesched - - -                                  | 1—80   | 0 18                                                        |
| D° bokhara current at 2 10 and                       | 2—20   | 1                                                           |
| Fonduckli, turkish ducat, about -                    | 1—80   | 0 18                                                        |
| Venetian ducat                                       | 1—80   | 0 17 $\frac{3}{4}$                                          |
| The common abaffie should be -                       | 2—00   | 1                                                           |
| D° shah fultan huffein - - -                         | -      | 1 4                                                         |
| D° shah fuliman - - - -                              | -      | 1 14                                                        |
| D° shah seffie - - - -                               | -      | 1 16                                                        |

N. B. 80  $\frac{2116}{10000}$  muscals = 1 lb troy.

### WEIGHTS.

1200 muscals, or 1 batman, are averdupois lb 12 20343  
ordinarily computed 12  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb ENGLISH.

|                                                                                                  |    |                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|--------------------|
| 98 $\frac{1}{2}$ D° - - - - -                                                                    | 1  |                    |
| 1 D° I have found to be 3 dwts. $\frac{1}{2}$ grain, }<br>but nicer calculators call it grains } | 71 | 1888               |
| 1 dunk, or donk - - - -                                                                          | 11 | 8648               |
| 1 karrat - - - - -                                                                               | 2  | 9662               |
| 1 hæbbie - - - - -                                                                               | 0  | 9887 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

107 muscals are lb 1 HOLLANDS.

<sup>i</sup> The common price of silver.

The



The old batman, or manshah, is 1200 muscals, or 200 drams, by which filk, cochineal, indigo, kedge, &c. are weighed.

The new batman shah is 1280 muscals, or  $213\frac{2}{3}$  drams, by which heavy goods are weighed.

At TAVRIS the batman called tavrizie contains 640 muscals, likewise chiefly used at MESCHED and HERAT, as it is also, more or less, through the whole country, for several species of goods. The antient batman of TAVRIS weighed 600 muscals.

At ISFAHAN, at SHAMAKIE, and all through SHIRVAN the filk batman contains 48 stills, or 1600 muscals, and 3 stills are called a shadah, and weigh 100 muscals; but the batman by which indigo is weighed, contains only 800 muscals.

At TÆHIRAN the batman is called re, and contains 1600 muscals; rice, wheat, liquors, and provisions are sold by the batman.

A chærvan, or load of a camel, is 50 batmans.

A load of a mule 25 batmans, according to the king's computation, but carriers usually load 30 to 34.

A chærvan of a horse is 20 batmans, but carriers usually load 25.

The same load of an afs, according to the common rule of carriers, is 15 batmans.

Kæbbie, a handful.

Dizz, or gerib, 1000 rice.

4 batman of shahi rice make 1 kuttie.

Corn and grain, and even liquids are sold by the batman, but rice when winnowed is sold per measure, ojar.

The muscal through all PERSIA is the same: the silversmiths commonly make use of pieces of money instead of weights, especially fifid denaers of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  muscal in weight.

1 karrat is 3 hæbbie.

4 karrats, or nockoot, are 1 dunk.

6 dunk 1 muscal.

6 muscals 1 dram.



THE MEASURE OF RESHD.

7 horse hair breadths are 1 barley corn.

7 barley corns are 1 finger.

24 fingers are half a gæze, or gaz = 1 cubit.

4000 cubits are 1 mile.

3 miles are one farfang.

But the measure in common use is the gæze zerræ, divided into 16 parts, called gierrie.

The foreign and PERSIAN merchants in buying of woollens, compute the gæze at 40 inches ENGLISH, but it is only  $39\frac{2}{3}$ .

1 D° is computed equal to 10 RUSSIAN archeens of 28 inches.

105 SMYRNA pikes are reckoned equal to 70 PERSIAN gæze.

The mokæfar gæze is  $\frac{1}{16}$  less than the shah gæze, and by the mokæfar, PERSIAN manufactures, and most part of retail goods are measured.

The tavis gæze is 1 per cent. longer than the shah gæze.

C H A P. VI.

*The state of PERSIA in 1743 to 1745 in respect to commerce, containing several remarks on the trade of that country, as carried on by the FRENCH, DUTCH, RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS, with a succinct view of the revenues and military force of PERSIA.*

THE countenance which we had received in PERSIA gave us an earnest of future success in that country; but at the same time inflamed the jealousy of the RUSSIAN merchants, who had never experienced such favour. However dangerous the enterprize I had been engaged in was at setting out, the issue of it proved the most successful during the whole course of the CASPIAN trade. It might indeed have cost us dear; for had not 1500 of the SHAH's forces defeated the rebel army, which my reader will remember consisted of 3000 men, in all human probability the whole southern coast of the CASPIAN sea must have submitted to their arms: thus the attempt of going to MESCHED by the rout of ASTRABAD, would have been a means of involving the whole BRITISH commerce in those parts,



parts, in one common ruin, and of exhibiting that tragedy which was acted four years afterwards.

It was certainly a great mistake in us to attempt a trade to MESCHED by this or any other rout. Mr. ELTON, as the reader will remember, considered the removal of our EAST INDIA company's servants from ISFAHAN, as a material circumstance to encourage the factors of the RUSSIA company in the prosecution of this design; but in reality the very reasons that moved the former to order their factors from thence, should have confined the latter to RESHD, the place of our importation; and instead of seeking the PERSIAN merchants, we should have left them to seek us. How much the PERSIAN traders resented my attempt, may be judged by the declaration which HAHDGEE ABDULCRIM made to me at CASBIN, viz. "That if I had not been robbed at ASTRABAD it was highly improbable "I should ever arrive safe in MESCHED." To this purpose we may remember that Mr. GRÆME was murdered in returning from that city the year before; but this indeed was imputed to his own indiscretion in not waiting for a caravan. Mr. VAN MIEROP had better fortune, with regard to his person; but he was several times obliged to take to his arms.

The account which Mr. VAN MIEROP gave of the import and consumption of MESCHED, extracted from the custom-house register of that city, made the quantities very inconsiderable; and the whole was sent by ARMENIANS, RUSSIANS, and GREEKS, from RESHD, viz.

|                                 | Pieces of<br>begrest. | Pieces of<br>londora. | Pieces of<br>maghoot. |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| MESCHED and its neighbourhood.  | 305                   | 100                   | 700                   |
| For the consumption of BOKHARA. | 20                    | 50                    | 10                    |
| Orange.                         | 15                    | 30                    | 5                     |
| Balkh.                          | 15                    | 15                    | 5                     |
| Anthuy.                         | 10                    | 15                    | 5                     |

Besides these, not distinguished with regard to the place of their consumption, were imported,

1000 shalloons. } the most part from KHERMAN, by the way of the  
1500 long ells. } gulph of PERSIA.



250 batmans of lahorî indigo, brought by the INDIANS, of whom there are a considerable number, who also trade in cloth from RESHD.

500 batmans of AMERICAN indigo from RESHD, by ARMENIANS; formerly it came from TURKEY, where they bought it of the FRENCH.

300 batmans of cochineal from RESHD, brought by ARMENIANS and others.

Though MESCHED was under the particular protection of NADIR SHAH, it was with difficulty that this gentleman sold to the value of 22000 crowns during the space of 27 months which he resided there, and great part of this sum was in exchange for PERSIAN manufactures, which no reason but the absolute impossibility of obtaining money induced him to accept; such was the distress of that country. For my own part I had the utmost reason to consider this as a military trade, and myself as having made a campaign. The journey had however afforded me an opportunity of seeing PERSIA, and of enquiring into many circumstances relating to the oriental commerce.

The confusion arising from intestine broils, must ever give a deep wound to trade, the security of which is founded in the arts of peace and the execution of civil laws: but the government of PERSIA was now rendered precarious, to a degree that threatened the subversion of that monarchy. The TURKS, the LESGEES, the INDIANS, the TURKUMANS, and other frontier nations, either favoured these intestine factions, or endeavoured to recover some limb which had been torn from them; so that every imaginable excess was committed upon no better principle than the power of doing it. In this situation it was the ill fortune of the RUSSIA company to find PERSIA governed by an usurper, and a tyrant whose cruelty had no bounds: and the prospect at this time in a more particular manner was overshadowed with a dark cloud, which threatened a storm. The RUSSIA company had already felt some of the difficulties in which they were involved; others they foresaw, but knew not how to provide against them.

The rebellions in SHIRVAN in 1743, of SHIRASS, ASTRABAD, HAZAR-JERIB in 1744, were not suppressed but by the slaughter of many thousands,



lands, and the almost total ruin of those provinces. It is true that NADIR had enriched his treasures with the plunder of INDIA, yet the heavy taxes he had imposed on his people to support such a continued series of foreign and domestic wars, had reduced them to an extremity of poverty, and driving them to despair, obliged thousands to seek a voluntary banishment.

I have already observed that NADIR's army had been supported for upwards of four years by the taxes drawn from his PERSIAN subjects, and that his INDIAN treasure remained in a great measure untouched; this was one principal cause of their distress: by endeavouring to deprive them of the instruments of rebellion, he provoked them to rebel, and chastising them he completed their ruin. Could any trade be carried on under these circumstances?

It was computed that NADIR had near 200,000 men in pay, the charge of whom, officers included, was computed at 100 crowns<sup>i</sup> a year, and consequently the expence of maintaining his army was 20 millions of crowns<sup>k</sup>, exclusive of the contingent expence.

In good times the provinces are supposed to bring into the exchequer the following sums:

|                                                  |    |    |    | Mildenaers. | £.        |
|--------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|-------------|-----------|
| The conquered provinces in INDIA were            |    |    |    |             |           |
| said to produce in 1743, 25 crore <sup>l</sup> , |    |    |    |             |           |
| which makes PERSIAN money                        |    |    |    |             |           |
| KANDAHAR and HÆRAT                               | -  | -  | -  | 1,000,000—  | 250,000   |
| KHORASAN                                         | -  | -  | -  | 2,000,000—  | 500,000   |
| ASTRABAD                                         | -- | -- | -- | 50,000—     | 12,500    |
| MAZANDERAN                                       | -- | -- | -- | 400,000—    | 100,000   |
| GHILAN, of which a million was once              |    |    |    |             |           |
| demanded, but is now set at                      |    |    |    |             |           |
| SHIRVAN, including GEORGIA and some              |    |    |    |             |           |
| parts of DAGESTAN                                |    |    |    |             |           |
|                                                  |    |    |    |             |           |
| Carry over                                       |    |    |    | 17,950,000— | 4,487,500 |

<sup>i</sup> 25 1<sup>k</sup> 5 millions sterling.<sup>l</sup> Crore or 10 laks are 500,000 crowns.



|                                                                                                           | Brought over | Mildenaers. | £.        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|
| ERIVAN and the parts of ARMENIA sub-<br>ject to PERSIA                                                    | }            | 17,500,000— | 4,487,500 |
| IRAK, including CASBIN, ISFAHAN, and<br>the country extending to the gulph,<br>being the antient PARTHIA. | }            | 2,000,000—  | 500,000   |
| ADERBEITZAN, in which ARDEVIL<br>and TAVRIS are included <sup>m</sup> .                                   | }            | 1,500,000—  | 375,000   |
|                                                                                                           |              | <hr/>       | <hr/>     |
|                                                                                                           |              | 22,950,000— | 5,737,500 |
|                                                                                                           |              | <hr/>       | <hr/>     |

The reader will naturally observe how great a part of the PERSIAN revenue was produced by NADIR's conquest in INDIA: it will also be obvious to him, that the charge of an army is certain, but the revenues to support that army are uncertain, especially if they commit the least violence; and here the whole was a scene of rapine: the consequence was, that except the conquered provinces in INDIA and those of GHI-LAN and KHORASAN, the rest of the kingdom was so impoverished as to be disabled from paying perhaps a quarter part of the usual tax. Next to the above mentioned, KANDAHAR, HÆRAT and ERIVAN were said to be the least distressed, but misery reigned in every quarter.

Of these 200,000 men, 60,000 were quartered in CABUL and the adjacent provinces on the western side of the SIND<sup>n</sup>, which had been conquered and kept by NADIR; and the revenues appear to have much exceeded the expence of supporting that part of the army. If one considers this number of troops and large revenue, it was not unreasonable to expect a large demand for cloth and other EUROPEAN goods, but we were not then acquainted with the nature of cloathing a PERSIAN army; for indeed not a third part of it wears EUROPEAN cloth.

With regard to the quantity of goods imported by the PERSIANS over the CASPIAN sea, whilst the port of GAMBROON was open to the several

<sup>m</sup> ADERBEITZAN is the antient MEDIA.

<sup>n</sup> Antient INDUS.



nations of EUROPE, the CASPIAN traders could but ill form an idea of the general consumption in that kingdom. The RUSSIA company were the more sanguine in their expectations, from a knowledge that in the beginning of this century, the factors of the EAST INDIA company had extended their trade as far as TAVRIS on the western coast of the CASPIAN, where they sold great quantities of the woollen manufactures of GREAT BRITAIN; but when the BRITISH factors in GHILAN, whose situation was now so much more advantageous, would have made an experiment of the like nature, they discovered that city and its confines to be in so ruinous a state as blasted their hopes of doing any business in those quarters.

When PERSIA enjoyed repose, the agent of the EAST INDIA company of ENGLAND lived in splendor: the regal government being held in great veneration in that empire, he acted as immediately under the crown of ENGLAND, and from thence derived an influence which he could not otherwise have possessed: his pompous manner of living had some good effects, but the expence was too considerable to be long grateful to the company.

With regard to the advantages the RUSSIANS enjoyed, it must be observed that besides the RUSSIAN minister who attends at the PERSIAN court, generally under the title of resident, the consul of that empire who is fixed in GHILAN is considered in some measure in a ministerial light, and allowed a company of RUSSIAN soldiers as a guard, at the expence of the EMPRESS their sovereign. Hence it was that Mr. ELTON recommended so strongly that a commission should be given to one of the BRITISH subjects in GHILAN, by which I presume he meant himself, to act as consul; but the state of things was now changed, and every step that could be taken to establish the interest of the RUSSIA company in PERSIA, in effect blocked up our passage through RUSSIA into PERSIA.

The advantages which the EAST INDIA company of ENGLAND enjoyed beyond the RUSSIA company, were such as will hardly admit of a comparison, nor indeed is it material to my present purpose: I shall pass over  
in



in silence the trade from GREAT BRITAIN to the gulph of PERSIA, as also that between PERSIA and INDIA; observing only that after the PORTUGUESE had settled themselves in EAST INDIA they took the island of ORMU, and, being masters of the sea, carried on the trade between those countries. That great prince SHAH ABASS thought it his interest to dislodge them from his neighbourhood, for which purpose he entered into a treaty in 1622, with the agent of the EAST INDIA company, and by means of their ships he took ORMU and demolished the town, bringing the commerce of that island to the continent. This induced that prince to build the town of BENDER ABASSI, now called GAMBROON, which is reputed the greatest place of trade in all PERSIA. For these good services ABASS made the company a grant of half the customs of the new town in perpetuity; but his successors have not religiously observed the engagement.

The invasion of the AFGHANS in 1722, ruined the company's settlement at ISFAHAN in no less a degree than the death of NADIR occasioned the pillage of the RUSSIA company's factors in RESHD, as I shall have occasion to relate. Their loss, though very considerable, was not I believe superior to that of the CASPIAN traders, except the long interruption of their trade: in both cases extortion and plunder were carried to an extreme. The ARMENIANS suffered also<sup>o</sup>: the DUTCH likewise met the common fortune of the times, and being obliged to withdraw the greatest part of their factory from ISFAHAN, they settled in GAMBROON, where they secured themselves in a great measure by very strong fortifications: they did not come into PERSIA till ten years after us, but as they are the only traders in spice, so much in use over all ASIA, they have been encouraged to continue their commerce, though with less advantage than in past times.

The FRENCH first appeared in PERSIA in 1665, and concluded a treaty with the SHAH of PERSIA in 1674, but the miseries of that country in consequence of the invasion of the AFGHANS in 1722, compelled them also to retire from ISFAHAN. A very pompous proposal was made by

<sup>o</sup> See history of revolutions in vol. III.



a FRENCH projector, in relation to a trade over the CASPIAN in the beginning of this century, upon the occasion of an embassy <sup>P</sup> from SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN to LEWIS XIV. This person imagined that caravans could not be conducted safely through RUSSIA, and therefore he proposed to carry merchandize in vessels by the lakes and rivers with which that country abounds; but in regard to robbers he seemed ignorant that this would not mend the matter in the least. He mentioned also several commodities which he proposed to return to FRANCE, particularly rhubarb; but this article, as I have already remarked, is monopolized by the RUSSIAN government: this scheme never was, and I believe never will be carried into execution.

But of all the nations who have endeavoured to establish a trade with the north of PERSIA, the RUSSIANS are the most advantageously situated: the intestine broils of that country have not put a stop to their commerce; on the contrary they have sometimes turned to their advantage; for besides the ordinary course of their trade to and from PERSIA, they reap considerable profit by their trading voyages on the CASPIAN sea, carrying rice from GHILAN to BAKU, DERBEND, and sometimes to the southern coast, as I have already mentioned. And as this export of provision sometimes creates a scarcity in GHILAN, it occasions a demand for RUSSIAN meal, from which again new benefits are derived. Besides cloth and other EUROPEAN goods, the RUSSIANS also export red leather, furs, and linen for the northern provinces of PERSIA, and make their returns in raw silk. Hence arose their jealousy of the BRITISH traders; for the RUSSIAN merchants, particularly those of MOSCO, and the trading towns on the VOLGA, no sooner observed that the PERSIAN markets were glutted with EUROPEAN goods, by the RUSSIA company of ENGLAND, than they began to murmur, resolving to make remonstrances to court on the subject.

The ARMENIANS indeed have for some years extended their trade to the north of PERSIA, much beyond the RUSSIANS; for by means of

<sup>P</sup> It has been said that this was entirely counterfeit, to amuse LEWIS XIV. in his old age; but it appears from several circumstances, as well as the nature of the thing, that this opinion was very ill grounded, if not ridiculous.

their



their credit in HOLLAND, joined to their own capitals, they employed in this branch of commerce about 100,000 l. This stock however was now insufficient to support them; for the excessive glut of the market in GHILAN, and the terrible oppression of the PERSIAN government, stopped the circulation of their trade, and consequently sunk their credit in HOLLAND. At length they were also constrained to abandon PERSIA, and in 1745 they retired to ASTRACHAN, to wait with their effects till there should be a fair opportunity of returning thither.

Whilst the RUSSIA company were in security, they could not be insensible of the benefits of buying raw silk immediately of the peasants of GHILAN; but advantages may be over-rated, and indeed cease to be such, when attended with vexations and inconvenience, like those which the CASPIAN traders experienced. It was not however the less ungrateful to observe the ARMENIANS, a people in themselves despicable, and of no consequence to RUSSIA, in competition with the BRITISH nation, supported and protected in this trade, when measures were so apparently taking to wrest it from us. The RUSSIANS do indeed alledge that many of these ARMENIANS are subjects of their country, and it is true in general, that such of them as are engaged in the CASPIAN trade do put themselves under the protection of that empire: these people are likewise educated in all the servilities of ASIA, and understanding how to accommodate themselves to indignities, which the genius of a free nation will hardly submit to, are in some measure the better qualified to carry on a commerce through foreign dominions.

The share which the RUSSIA company enjoyed in this branch of commerce made an ECLAT, but it was not yet pushed to near the height which the ARMENIANS had carried it: of what consequence it was to the latter, may be easily deduced from hence, that not many years ago they imported into RUSSIA near 1000 bales of raw silk<sup>a</sup>; of this the greatest part was sent to AMSTERDAM; part of the silk was also sent to

<sup>a</sup> Of 25 batmans is 300,000 lbs. of 16 ounces, whereas all the BRITISH trade never amounted to half that quantity.



RUSSIANS. This appeared two months after this letter was wrote, when the college of foreign affairs sent a memorial to the college of commerce in St. PETERSBURG, in which it was ordered "That the college of commerce do acquaint the merchants of the prohibition which is made solely on account of the injurious conduct of ELTON towards the RUSSIANS, and that the said merchants shall not send any goods to either of their agents, ELTON or HANWAY, for they shall by no means be permitted to pass through ASTRACHAN."

In the interim the RUSSIA company, anxious for the preservation of their trade, wrote to Mr. ELTON as follows.

"SIR,

London, October 26, 1744.

"YOUR friends and correspondents having had singular proofs of your capacity, and of your steadiness and industry in promoting the CASPIAN trade through RUSSIA, are very sensibly affected, as you may imagine, that any part of your conduct should give the least offence to her imperial majesty of RUSSIA, much more that the steps you have been taking should procure an absolute prohibition of correspondence with you. We have used our utmost endeavours to mitigate this resolution, but find, by the repeated memorials delivered here and in MOSCO, that there is no appearance of continuing this trade unless you leave PERSIA. We flatter ourselves that in consideration of the necessity we are under of obeying her imperial majesty, that you will sacrifice your private views to the public good, and, as soon as possible, return to your native country.

"The committee for the CASPIAN trade, and all others who are interested, propose, on your return to ENGLAND, to settle on you 400 l. per annum, to be levied on the PERSIAN trade; or to solicit an honourable employment for you in the BRITISH navy, in which last we have a moral certainty of succeeding, whatever may be the fate of the trade; and we cannot doubt of your preferring such a competency at home, to any advantages you can now expect.

"We are, &c."

This



Chap. VII. JOHN ELTON's RETURN FROM PERSIA. 35

This letter they inclosed to lord TYRAWLEY, his majesty's ambassador in RUSSIA, desiring his good offices to prevent the destructive consequences of Mr. ELTON's conduct. Their letter is as follows.

" MY LORD,

London, October 26, 1744.

" **I**N our last letter we applied to your lordship concerning our trade  
" to PERSIA, and had the honour to represent, that we had at last  
" compassed an union, and resolved to have only one house in GHILAN.  
" As the court of RUSSIA persists in their resentments against Mr. EL-  
" TON, which involves our trade over the CASPIAN in great difficulties,  
" we therefore acquaint your lordship, that we are determined neither  
" directly nor indirectly to make any consignment, or carry on any trade  
" with ELTON, of which we beg your lordship will acquaint that court.

" You are sensible, my lord, that we have no coercive power over Mr.  
" ELTON, but we have all joined in a general letter to him, representing  
" the inconveniencies arising to our trade by his stay in PERSIA; and,  
" to induce him to return home, we have agreed to make him the of-  
" fer of a handsome yearly pension, with an intent to preserve this trade,  
" and to avoid giving any kind of offence. Her imperial majesty's mi-  
" nisters must be convinced that this is all we can possibly do; and with  
" this we comply, from a sincere desire of removing the displeasures of  
" the RUSSIAN court.

" We are, my lord, &c."

In December following, lord TYRAWLEY sent this letter to Mr. ELTON, through DAGISTAN into PERSIA, with another from himself, and also a passport from the great chancellor count BESTUCHEFF, that he might have safe conduct through the RUSSIAN dominions.

Mean while the ARMENIANS, who had treated our MESCHED scheme as extravagant, now beheld our success with a jealous eye, and employed all the engines of falsehood and corruption to ruin our trade: they declared without reserve, that they would cheerfully disburse a large sum to dispossess us of it; but they made no doubt but we should do their business ourselves, exulting in a persuasion that the consequences of Mr.



ELTON's engagements in PERSIA, would be a means of utterly extinguishing our commerce.

### C H A P. VIII.

*Mr. ELTON's answer to lord TYRAWLEY, and also to the committee of the CASPIAN traders. Remarks on his conduct and that of the RUSSIA company. The author's letter to JOHN ELTON on this occasion.*

**M**R. ELTON having received lord TYRAWLEY's letter, made the following reply.

" MY LORD,

GHILAN, February 7, 1745.

" **I** HAD the honour to receive your lordship's letter, dated the 7th of December last; I have also the enclosed passport for my safe return through RUSSIA, and a letter from the principal members of the RUSSIA company, for all which I beg leave to make your lordship my most humble acknowledgments.

" Your lordship's recommending my return to GREAT BRITAIN, must necessarily have the greatest weight with me, though at the same time I apprehend it is not the interest of those gentlemen who desire it as my own, that I should return. I am, my lord, under no engagements to the SHAH, but those of gratitude for the many favours his majesty has been pleased to confer on me; and such, a man of the least generosity can never forego. In about six weeks I expect to be called to his camp, when I shall endeavour by all honourable means to disengage myself from his affairs; but I must be so ingenuous as to confess I have little hopes to succeed in this point, as I am too well assured of the SHAH's steadiness and resolution to accomplish whatever he attempts.

" Were the merits of my conduct in PERSIA impartially considered, I humbly conceive that my fellow-subjects ought to be blamed more than I, inasmuch as they do not reap the benefit of this branch of trade in its utmost extent; and that those mischiefs attributed to me are  
" very



“ very unjustly laid to my charge. To this end I must crave, my lord,  
 “ that you will peruse the enclosed letters, which perhaps may give a dif-  
 “ ferent opinion of the CASPIAN trade, from what your lordship seems  
 “ at present to entertain of it. I must humbly refer your lordship for my  
 “ ultimate resolve in regard to my return, until I arrive at the camp,  
 “ and know the SHAH’s pleasure therein.

“ I am, my lord, &c.

J. ELTON to the committee for the CASPIAN traders.

“ SIRs;

GHILAN, February 7, 1744-5.

“ I HAVE been acquainted with your resolutions of August last, and  
 “ received copies of your letters to the right honourable the lord  
 “ CARTERET and lord TYRAWLY in my behalf.

“ The difficulties I met with here when I arrived last from RUSSIA,  
 “ and my zeal to promote the interest of my employers, necessitated me  
 “ to give into the SHAH’s measures, as the only means to obtain his  
 “ majesty’s favour, being then, as I am now, satisfied, that without it,  
 “ our affairs must have been inevitably ruined. These steps, however  
 “ unforeseen the consequence, raised very powerful enemies against me;  
 “ I say however unforeseen, for it never entered my mind, that the build-  
 “ ing a few ships of burthen for the SHAH, could give umbrage to so  
 “ powerful a monarch as her imperial majesty of RUSSIA; or that the en-  
 “ deavours of so insignificant a person as myself, could be ever thought  
 “ worthy the notice of her ministers. Does not our sovereign permit  
 “ his subjects to serve her imperial majesty of RUSSIA, both by land  
 “ and sea? and does not the treaty of commerce tolerate the subjects of  
 “ RUSSIA to reside in GREAT BRITAIN to learn arts and sciences? yet I  
 “ never heard that any powers of the north were offended, or took um-  
 “ brage at our indulgences to the RUSSIAN nation.

“ It is objected, that as our trade is carried on through RUSSIA, it is  
 “ in her imperial majesty’s power to stop or incommode it whenever she  
 “ thinks proper; but if this should ever happen, then what does a treaty  
 “ of commerce, or indeed any other treaty avail, if the endeavour of a  
 “ fingle



“ single subject, even if his pursuits were contrary to the laws of his own  
 “ country, can destroy the right a whole nation has to the benefit of  
 “ such a treaty? You have given up publicly to his most powerful ene-  
 “ mies, to whom he never gave just subject of offence, a person you  
 “ have been pleased to think has deserved well of you, and whom you  
 “ condescend to acknowledge may yet be of no small advantage to the  
 “ future advancements of your affairs. What can be desired more from  
 “ you, or what in reality is more in your power? The freedom, God be  
 “ thanked, of our nation is such, that if her subjects transgress not their  
 “ own laws by rebellion, piracy, or the like, they have nothing to fear,  
 “ even from their own sovereign, much less from any other monarch on  
 “ earth: and it may be presumed, that they will be protected in the just  
 “ rights they were born to, though those rights may be as inconceivable  
 “ to a man bred a slave, as colours to a person born blind. I think,  
 “ Sirs, it concerns you to be as anxious, at least to establish your inter-  
 “ est with that monarch, in whose country your principal scene of action  
 “ lies, as with the prince who gives you access to it<sup>r</sup>.

“ It is true, your case is critically circumstanced; you are to gain the  
 “ interest of the SHAH by the very means that must deprive you of the  
 “ favour of her imperial majesty: however, I do not question but all  
 “ this may by some means or other, which your own prudence will  
 “ suggest to you, be easily reconciled. The welfare of the BRITISH  
 “ trade through RUSSIA, is what I always had, and still have, most at  
 “ heart, however I may have been mistaken in my pursuits to establish  
 “ and advance it; but I am very far from being conscious that I am  
 “ mistaken; therefore, gentlemen, if you should happen to be of a dif-  
 “ ferent opinion, the greater still must be my misfortune. I have the  
 “ truest sense of obligation to you, but if nothing except my immediate  
 “ return can continue me in your favour and esteem, I beg you will not  
 “ loose one single thought upon me.

“ I am, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Here he enumerates the several grievances arising from the arbitrary conduct of the RUSSIAN consul in PERSIA, which are too tedious to insert, particularly as they are contained in the memorial, chap. IX.



Besides these two letters, he wrote a very long vindication of himself, not without many shrewd remarks, but very inconclusive. Whether Mr. ELTON was persuaded that the building ships on the CASPIAN for the PERSIAN service, would be attended with inconveniences to the RUSSIANS, is what I cannot determine; but this seems to be certain, that we might have traded without such a project; and it appeared quite agreeable to reason, that unless we could convey our merchandize through the RUSSIAN empire with the good will of that nation, there could be no conveyance at all: the nature of a trade through a foreign dominion, such as RUSSIA and TARTARY, must be so constituted, that whenever it is not relished by the inhabitants, it is liable to be ruined by many secret means, against which no sanction of national compact can provide. The RUSSIANS had long enjoyed the sovereignty of the CASPIAN, and it was not to be imagined they would be idle spectators, if the PERSIANS claimed any share of it, much less that they would expose themselves to the consequences of a PERSIAN naval power, which might affect their commercial affairs, or the security of their frontier.

Tho' NADIR's predominant passion was that of military glory, yet he was not ignorant of the advantages of commerce, so that a prudent conduct would certainly have procured us a sufficient degree of his favour, as subjects of a foreign prince with whom he was in friendship; and as merchants, by whom his revenues received a considerable increase. This was the sense of the matter, and so evident, that neither the ambassador nor the RUSSIA company thought it would answer any purpose to contradict Mr. ELTON's reasonings: however I resolved to write to him once more, in my own name, in remembrance of our former acquaintance, and on account of the effects he yet had in his hands, not to mention the civility he was entitled to for opening this branch of commerce. In regard to his conduct, he had probably erred in judgment only, for it could not be conceived that he designed to destroy this infant trade, of which he had been in so eminent a degree the parent. With the consent therefore and approbation of his majesty's ambassador, I wrote to him as follows.

Mr.



Mr. JOHN ELTON.

SIR,

St. PETERSBURG, April 30, 1745.

“ SINCE I left ASTRACHAN in November last, I have not wrote to  
 “ you, nor would I trouble you now were I not actuated with a fin-  
 “ cere desire of promoting your interest together with that of the trade.  
 “ I cannot but consider it as a misfortune, that it ever was imagined the  
 “ government of this country could be unconcerned, with regard to the  
 “ enterprize in which you are engaged. You declare that your only  
 “ intent was to obtain protection for our trade, and the merchants for  
 “ some time considered it in this light; nor ought we now to be further  
 “ accountable than to use our endeavours to remove the occasion of the  
 “ offence. You cannot be insensible that the BRITISH ministry, as well  
 “ as the RUSSIA company, are intirely disposed to show a due regard to  
 “ the inclinations of the RUSSIAN court: for there needs no argument  
 “ to prove the impossibility of carrying on the trade in opposition to  
 “ them; and every government will judge for itself.

“ The only way to convince the company of the integrity of your in-  
 “ tentions, is to endeavour by all possible means to remove the occasion  
 “ of offence; and this cannot be done effectually without your leaving  
 “ PERSIA. The merchants have made you an offer, for the particulars of  
 “ which I refer you to their own letter: the strongest assurances have been  
 “ given by the ministry here to his majesty’s embassador, for the security  
 “ of your person in returning through this country; so that nothing seems  
 “ to be wanting but your hearty concurrence to the establishment of our  
 “ trade: on the other hand, should these motives prove ineffectual through  
 “ any temptation you may have in PERSIA, it will be as hard to persuade  
 “ the CASPIAN traders that you intend them any good, as it will be  
 “ easy to imagine in what light you must be considered.

“ My lord HINDFORD often expresses a great solicitude for your re-  
 “ turn; he has even entertained such an opinion of your capacity, that  
 “ he would gladly recommend you to the king, as a very fit person to  
 “ go in search of the north west passage, the parliament having lately re-  
 “ solved



“ solved to give a very considerable præmium to the first discoverer.  
“ If this argument has no weight, there are many other reasons of the  
“ greatest force which ought to engage every good subject to use his ut-  
“ most endeavours to put a stop to this growing evil, and reconcile us to the  
“ RUSSIANS: And can you, who have acquired so much reputation, re-  
“ fuse to sacrifice a private passion to the public good?

“ In all countries there will be people of different opinions, but, if  
“ what I observe is right; those who are at the helm of the RUSSIAN go-  
“ vernment, and whose judgment alone is of much weight in this matter,  
“ think that our trade may become advantageous to RUSSIA, as the an-  
“ tient course of it through TURKEY will be diverted, and the profit re-  
“ moved hither, by the duty and charges to, and from PERSIA: you may  
“ be assured however that no advantages are esteemed an equivalent for  
“ the alarms which are given by the undertaking in question, should it  
“ be pursued.

“ We flattered ourselves that our trade would not be exposed to any  
“ severe resentment, for an accident which is foreign to it; and remote  
“ from the intentions of the merchants; but this in fact is not the case;  
“ you must leave PERSIA, or our trade is undone: and what will your  
“ stay in that country avail? You will soon be sensible of the impossibi-  
“ lity of pursuing this enterprize with any success, for the many reasons  
“ I have often mentioned to you, which are now too tedious to enu-  
“ merate. I will take no other notice of myself than that I have been  
“ persecuted in consequence of your mistaken jealousy and unprovoked  
“ resentments; but I can forgive. I heartily wish that all may be well  
“ again, and am, Sir, &c.”



## C H A P. IX.

*The CASPIAN trade obstructed on Mr. ELTON's account. Memorial on this subject to the BRITISH consul at St. PETERSBURG, in consequence of the greivances complained of by the BRITISH factors in PERSIA. NADIR SHAH's decree detaining J. ELTON. The SHAH sends a commissary into RUSSIA with a cargo of raw silk. The BRITISH ships are sold to RUSSIAN merchants.*

**M**R. ELTON, I presume, was not so blinded by his prejudices, but he acknowledged in his own breast, that my letter contained, in a great measure, the true state of the case; but it is probable he was too deeply engaged to leave his master; or had private reasons why he did not chuse to return to ENGLAND; unless some very good provision had been made for him, and secured in the most satisfactory manner. He was now in a country where no amusements could call him off, and though he had to struggle with great difficulties in the pursuit of his undertaking, his genius and industry were equal to them: the fear of being baffled and rendered an object of contempt on one side; and on the other, the hope of acquiring honour as well as profit by his success, were very strong motives to action; but these were yet strengthened by his resentment of the persecution, which he naturally supposed would be carried on against him on the part of the RUSSIAN court. Thus the same incentive which stimulated his endeavours to promote the SHAH's designs, encreased the odium of the RUSSIANS against him, which they demonstrated in repeated instances destructive of our CASPIAN trade.

As neither the merchants in LONDON, nor the factors in St. PETERSBURG, thought themselves in strict justice accountable for what NADIR, or his servant ELTON, should think proper to employ themselves about, it was but natural they should struggle hard to preserve their trade: they had already suffered a detention of their effects in ASTRACHAN, and many indignities from the RUSSIAN consul in GHILAN; this at length produced the following memorial which the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, addressed to his majesty's consul in that city in the summer this year<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 1745.



“ TO JACOB WOLFF, esquire, his BRITANNIC majesty’s consul at St.  
“ PETERSBURG.

“ SIR,

“ **T**HE BRITISH trade through this empire to PERSIA, having re-  
“ ceived great marks of attention both from the BRITISH and the  
“ RUSSIAN governments, we hope the difficulties it now labours under  
“ will also merit their particular regard. Her imperial majesty’s father,  
“ of immortal memory, often proposed and recommended this trade to the  
“ BRITISH subjects; and it is now agreed to by a solemn national compact.  
“ The BRITISH legislature thought it worthy their encouragement, and  
“ in consequence of a powerful and expensive solicitation, an act of par-  
“ liament was obtained in our favour, the good effects of which we ex-  
“ pect to be preserved to us.

“ The ministers of her imperial majesty cannot be insensible of the  
“ great importance of the BRITISH trade to the subjects of this em-  
“ pire, and it is upon this account we presume, that the protection of  
“ RUSSIA is promised to us, as to the most favoured of all the nations in  
“ friendship with this government. We are not only the subjects of a  
“ prince in perfect amity with her imperial majesty, but from a regard to  
“ our own particular interests, and even from inclination, we have a con-  
“ cern for her happiness and glory: hence we are the more affected  
“ with the treatment we have received from the RUSSIAN consul in GHI-  
“ LAN, especially as we have given all possible proof of the sincerity of  
“ our desires to remove every object of offence.

“ We cannot indeed conceive that the RUSSIAN consul is authorized  
“ to distress us; but under a pretence of zeal for the service of his own  
“ country, he has endeavoured to render our trade and factors odious,  
“ the better to carry his own point: this can be no other than to give our  
“ share of the trade, into the hands of the ARMENIANS, because he  
“ makes exactions on them with impunity; especially with regard to the  
“ shipping in GHILAN, over which he assumes so destructive an autho-  
“ rity. His taking away captain BLAIR’s crew, at a time when the BRI-



“ TISH ship ELIZABETH was in the extreamest distress ; his writing to  
 “ his court that this ship was sold to the SHAH ; his misrepresentations  
 “ of the conduct of every private BRITISH factor in GHILAN ; his tak-  
 “ ing the advantage of ELTON’s enterprize, to insinuate as if all the  
 “ BRITISH subjects were plotting against the RUSSIAN government ; his  
 “ arresting an ARMENIAN, who is our factor’s head servant and broker,  
 “ a person of worth and sobriety ; his beating him cruelly, and preventing  
 “ the execution of his master’s business, are all incontestable proofs of his  
 “ intentions to sacrifice our trade to his private views. Therefore, Sir, we  
 “ beg that either he may be recalled from GHILAN, or ordered, in the  
 “ most serious manner, to conduct himself towards the BRITISH factors in  
 “ PERSIA, as to persons intitled to all possible protection and regard. If  
 “ neither of these can be obtained, we see no prospect of preserving our  
 “ trade, nor any method of preventing its being wrested from us very soon.

“ The merchants of ASTRACHAN have as many ships as can find em-  
 “ ploy ; we only desire the liberty of a free agreement for the freight of  
 “ our goods, that our trade may not be obstructed by the RUSSIAN con-  
 “ sul upon any frivolous pretence. As our ships on the CASPIAN were  
 “ built by imperial authority, and the use of them is no longer continu-  
 “ ed to us<sup>f</sup>, we desire that the government will pay to their owners the  
 “ charge of building and fitting them out, agreeably to the repeated de-  
 “ clarations made by KNEZ SHERBATOVE, her imperial majesty’s minister  
 “ at the BRITISH court. Moreover, as no business can be carried on  
 “ without correspondence, we desire that the said consul be ordered to  
 “ deliver our letters regularly ; for we write about our own affairs, and  
 “ have no manner of concern with Mr. ELTON’s projects.

“ We are further resolved to do our utmost to promote the most per-  
 “ fect understanding with the officers and subjects of her imperial ma-  
 “ jesty, both in ASTRACHAN and in PERSIA ; in consequence hereof our  
 “ principals in LONDON have lately sent over, through this country, two  
 “ persons of good conduct<sup>†</sup>, who are amply instructed to avoid all these

<sup>f</sup> This was thought an expedient to reconcile these differences.  
 and Mr. G. PRESTON.

<sup>†</sup> Mr. CHARLES THOMPSON



“ unhappy differences. But give us leave, Sir, again to repeat that it is  
 “ absolutely impossible to prevent these painful contentions, and the total  
 “ dissolution of our trade, whilst Mr. BAKOONIN, or any other RUSSIAN  
 “ consul who may succeed him, is so very much indisposed to live in  
 “ harmony with us. If there is any particular circumstance in which  
 “ our factors are deficient, we desire you will acquaint us, or give them  
 “ instructions yourself; and it would be a great means of reconciling all  
 “ difficulties, could they be informed what orders are given concerning  
 “ them, that they be not ignorant of any thing which can contribute to  
 “ the establishment and support of a perfect understanding.

“ We are, &c.”

But our trade was devoted to ruin, and no remonstrance whatsoever could make any impression on the RUSSIAN ministry. Though our complaints were founded upon very strong evidence of the frequent insolences and the most wanton indignities offered us by the RUSSIAN consul in GHILAN; yet we could obtain no satisfaction: they were indeed tacitly acknowledged, but at the same time we were continually reproached with Mr. ELTON's proceedings in PERSIA, which was in effect to undeceive us with regard to the support of our commerce, on any other terms than his removal. And yet the RUSSIAN ministry saw we could not make any impression upon ELTON, his remaining in that country being at length determined, as the reader will judge from NADIR SHAH's decree, of which ELTON himself sent us a translation, viz.

“ **B**Y the merits of Almighty God our commands are ever obeyed.  
 “ The properest of the christians GEMAL BEG<sup>u</sup>, commissioner of  
 “ our royal navy on the CASPIAN sea, is by our imperial and most gra-  
 “ cious favour exalted, and given to KNOW; that his petition with re-  
 “ gard to his finishing one large ship, and desiring leave to go with such  
 “ ship to ASTRACHAN; and concerning several other points; is come  
 “ to our most sacred presence, and the meaning thereof understood.

<sup>u</sup> GEMAL BEG is a flattering appellation, signifying the lord of beauty, or, as we may translate it, “ the knight of the good countenance,” which NADIR gave ELTON; for BEG seems to be more properly a title answering to our knights.

“ But



“ But as our imperial design is to call the properest of the christians at  
 “ new year <sup>w</sup> to our victorious stirrup, and to settle our naval affairs on a  
 “ right foundation. Therefore the properest of the christians must defer  
 “ going to ASTRACHAN himself, but send such sailors as he has with  
 “ him who understand navigation, to take care of the ship to that port ;  
 “ and the properest of the christians must remain where he is, and fi-  
 “ nish the other ships ordered, give full directions concerning them,  
 “ and not exclude himself: but on the contrary, make the beauty of his  
 “ service appear in the presence of our universal glory ; taking this as a  
 “ command, and to remain in his duty.

“ Dated the 26th of the moon SHEWAL, 1158 <sup>x</sup>.”

The conclusion of this decree seems to be very definitive, though it is the ordinary stile in such cases. It is not in the least surprising that NADIR made a favourite point of his maritime designs: his exactions had disabled his people from contributing to the support of his army, and had also the pernicious consequences of putting an entire stop to trade. But his inclination to war being not lessened by the necessity of using his INDIAN treasure, while his avarice encreased beyond all conception, he determined to turn merchant himself: by the intimation given in the decree, he expected one of his own vessels would be ready to transport his first adventure to ASTRACHAN; but in this he was mistaken, for none of the vessels, which ELTON compleated for him, ever came farther than DERBEND, and that only for one or two voyages.

The SHAH had ordered a capital of 100,000 crowns to be employed in trade, under the care of HAHDGEE SEFFIE, the customer of RESHD, a man of good reputation: he ordered him to lay out half the capital in raw silk and PERSIAN manufactures, to be immediately transported into RUSSIA; and there to be sold for his account, or to be carried from thence to any other part of EUROPE, as this commissary should think most for his interest. The HAHDGEE was accordingly sent over in a RUSSIAN vessel to ASTRACHAN with 200 bales of raw silk.

<sup>w</sup> The beginning of the year which he alludes to, according to the PERSIANS, is the vernal equinox, or 10th of March.

<sup>x</sup> November 19th, 1745.



A royal merchant who might blend politics with commerce, could not easily procure a favourable reception in RUSSIA: the design in itself was not less ungrateful to the RUSSIANS, than that of ELTON's building of ships. It is not improbable that a man of NADIR's genius had some regard, in a project of this sort, to the intelligence which he might procure of what was passing in EUROPE, especially concerning the TURKS, the entire conquest of whom he had often meditated. As a merchant however he declared his expectations of a return of 60 per cent. per annum, which, considering NADIR's usual conduct, was no great encouragement to his agent ever to make him ANY RETURN AT ALL.

The RUSSIANS and PERSIANS are by treaty mutually exempt from paying customs, but as in GHILAN the SHAH received the duty of silk of the peasants, and consequently the RUSSIANS paid it in the price given for that commodity, so in RUSSIA no one was permitted to buy PERSIAN silk without paying the duty upon exportation; and thus the intention of favouring each other was on both sides defeated: but had the PERSIAN commissary thought it proper, or could have obtained a passage through RUSSIA into any other part of EUROPE, he would have saved the transit duty to his master, as the RUSSIANS save the duty of their imports into PERSIA.

To return to our own affairs; it was still impossible for the BRITISH factors in GHILAN to conduct themselves in such a manner, but the RUSSIAN consul in that province found something to object to; in particular that they were too much in the PERSIAN interest, and interfered with the RUSSIAN merchants, whose greatest profits arose from shipping. The memorial recited in the last chapter, mentions our acquiescence in giving up what we could not keep, viz. the two BRITISH ships on the CASPIAN sea: at the request of the court of St. PETERSBURG, these ships were at length sold to RUSSIAN merchants at ASTRACHAN, and from that time navigated under the RUSSIAN flag. Thus ended the short-lived BRITISH navigation on the CASPIAN sea, whereby a deep wound was given to this trade already in an expiring condition. The RUSSIANS however benefited by our loss, and received no small advantage



tage from the models we left them, and by learning of us in those parts, as they had before done in St. PETERSBURG, the use of the best materials for ship building.

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## C H A P. X.

*Antient trade to TURKEY. Several factories established in that country. Manufactories in LANGUEDOC. The enterprising genius of the FRENCH, and the amount of their LEVANT trade in 1720. Defence of the TURKEY company. Remarks on the silks imported from the CASPIAN, and also on bullion.*

WHILST the RUSSIA company was thus endeavouring by all possible means to establish their CASPIAN trade, our commerce to the LEVANT was greatly the subject of debate; and though it might not be in so bad a condition as that over the CASPIAN, yet it certainly languished with a very sensible decay. The connexion it has with the CASPIAN trade; and the utility which a memorial of what then past, may have in regard to any future inquiries, will, I hope, be an excuse for this digression.

Our trade to TURKEY first began to flourish in queen ELIZABETH's reign, when it was carried on mostly by bullion. King JAMES I. established a company by charter, and CHARLES II. confirmed it: but it was no earlier than the reign of the latter that we introduced our woollen manufactures into TURKEY in any considerable quantity, and of these our kerseys were then the chief part; however, we have now a treaty of commerce subsisting with the PORT, and by means of our TURKEY company have supported ourselves in that trade for a series of years, much to the advantage of the nation. The factories established in TURKEY are at SMYRNA, ALEPPO, CONSTANTINOPLE and CAIRO: at all these places the FRENCH are settled also; they import cloth and AMERICAN goods, in exchange of which they take wool, corn, oil, raw silk and other rich commodities; they have likewise several other settlements, by which they increase their influence in TURKEY. It was not however  
till



till the reign of LEWIS XIV. that they made any shining figure in this trade. The first introduction of the FRENCH into the LEVANT trade was attended with very favourable circumstances to that nation; for the TURKS, in hopes of obtaining their assistance against the emperor CHARLES V. shewed them a very distinguished regard.

Under LEWIS XIV. Mr. COLBERT established fabrics of cloth in LANGUEDOC, and obtained great support and encouragement to the manufacturers: by this he proposed not only to promote the commerce of his own country, but to enter into political schemes with the TURKS. The FRENCH, in order to shew their superior power and grandeur, sent at this time a large fleet of ships of war to CONSTANTINOPLE; a thing which has been since practised by FRANCE, though not with equal success. So industrious is that nation to try all possible expedients to promote her interest, and from the pride of military glory, to direct her aims to the increase of her riches by commerce: I remember when I was a factor at LISBON about the year 1740, Mr. CHAVIGNIE came as ambassador from the court of FRANCE to the king of PORTUGAL, and as we then imagined, chiefly with a view to commerce. The PORTUGUEZE thought it was highly inconsistent with the dignity of his character as an ambassador, to bring patterns of woollen goods, and produce them publicly at court; but he was of a different opinion, and probably was not without hopes of supplanting us. Soon after his arrival, several FRENCH ships and sloops of war anchored in the TAGUS, the officers of which, even to the subalterns, were conducted in procession to court; a sight which was extremely ridiculous to the PORTUGUEZE, who are no strangers to the superior maritime power of GREAT BRITAIN. But what gave them the worst impression of this effort of FRANCE, was the attempt of introducing clandestinely a considerable quantity of FRENCH linens, which were brought, and part of them secretly landed, by those very ships of war.

In regard to Mr. COLBERT's scheme of establishing the FRENCH commerce in TURKEY, the reader will observe by the papers already quoted<sup>y</sup>, and delivered to our ministry in June 1739, what great encouragement

<sup>y</sup> Vol. I. p. 59, &c.



was given to the manufactories established in LANGUEDOC, and since extended to PROVENÇE. Before this time the UNITED PROVINCES had a considerable trade to TURKEY, but it is now declined, and in some places does not entertain near the number of factors as they had formerly. In 1720, when the plague broke out at MERSAILLES, FRANCE imported into TURKEY 500,000 l. value.

|                                            |         |
|--------------------------------------------|---------|
|                                            | £.      |
| Of which in cloth about - - - - -          | 240,000 |
| In cutlery and other small goods - - - - - | 20,000  |
| Indigo - - - - -                           | 50,000  |
| Sugar - - - - -                            | 20,000  |
| Coffee - - - - -                           | 15,000  |
| And the ballance in silver - - - - -       | 155,000 |

It is to be observed here, that the FRENCH have the permission of sending the produce of their AMERICAN colonies directly to TURKEY; and the situation of MERSAILLES, in regard to the LEVANT trade, is certainly a great advantage, especially as that city enjoys an exclusive charter. Their cloths are spungy, but they are thin, light and soft, and adapted to the taste of the TURKS: as their manufactories are under good regulation, they support the quality, and by this means prevent the diminution of the price; and as there is an account given of the merchants and their effects, no one is suffered to sell more than a proportion of the stock he possesses; so that they seem here to employ their arbitrary power to an advantageous purpose. Immediately after the conclusion of queen ANN's war, the FRENCH crowded to TURKEY with such a profusion of cloth and other goods as glutted the market extremely, by which means many of the principal merchants of MERSAILLES were ruined: this revived our trade, and in the next five years, though we sent a considerable quantity of silver, we annually exported 18,000 cloths for TURKEY; but from that time our trade began to decline.

PETER the GREAT having taken possession of GHILAN in 1722, the inhabitants of that province neglected the cultivation of their raw silk, so that our factors in TURKEY soon felt the effect of it; and this was another



another wound to our LEVANT trade. Besides the progress of the FRENCH, and the RUSSIANS seizing the silk provinces of PERSIA, further reasons appeared for the decay of our TURKEY trade. The coffee from EGYPT, which used to be a considerable article, had of late years very much failed, as it came cheaper from MOCHA by our EAST INDIA ships. Rhubarb, which had also been at a much higher price than it is at present, a great part of it which used to come by way of TURKEY, is now brought through the RUSSIAN dominions for account of that government, and generally sent to AMSTERDAM. The price of raw silk in EUROPE had likewise declined for some time<sup>z</sup>. Mohair was an article of some importance, being consumed in buttons, button-holes and camblets: but goats, of whose hair this is made, sometimes rot as our sheep do, and this occasioned a diminution in the import, whilst our home consumption also decreased by means of the new fashion of metal buttons. The buyers of mohair however complained aloud that this commodity was imported only from TURKEY, and that the merchants had kept it up to an exorbitant price, importing only 600 bags for the space of 16 months, and the package of that very inferior.

In regard to the SHERBAFF silk, which was bought by our factors in GHILAN, and sent home through RUSSIA, it was found to be two shillings in a pound better than the PERSIAN SHERBAFF imported from TURKEY; for the waste of one is only 10 per cent. and the other 20, the latter being a natural consequence of the fraudulent package used by the ARMENIANS<sup>a</sup>.

With respect to FRANCE, the duty in TURKEY called MESSATARIA, has been taken off in favour of that nation, which is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  dollar per bale of cloth, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ad valorem on all goods sold by weight: they also obtained a reduction of the custom, a bale of 20 cloths being charged at 30 dollars only, which was before at 40. These were very strong reasons why the TURKEY trade was so much declined, reasons which called aloud for all the relief that the nature of the thing would possibly

<sup>z</sup> From 1745 it again advanced very considerably.  
garg in this particular.

<sup>a</sup> The RUSSIANS seem to have as little re-



admit: but that such an unrestrained liberty of commerce as the complainants required, would have answered the end, and afforded that relief, was very far from being a clear matter.

With regard to the carrying on the silk trade by bullion, the parliament thought it for the interest of the nation to tie up the hands of the RUSSIA company, in the purchase of raw silk in PERSIA for gold or silver, or in exchange for any commodities except our manufactures. The RUSSIAN government was likewise so far alarmed as to make it death to export gold or silver through that country into the SHAH's dominions. It often happens however, when the demand for cloth in PERSIA is much short of the value of the raw silk at market, this commodity is then obtainable only for money. The TURKEY company was very sensible of this, and though their trade was understood to be carried on by manufactories only, yet they have often imported into TURKEY great quantities of SPANISH silver. Indeed I never could apprehend this to be injurious to the national interest, more than the commerce which is carried on from hence to the UNITED PROVINCES and other countries, in the gold and silver of foreign dominions. The national coin, I conceive, ought to be sacred to us who have no mines of gold or silver; but foreign coin or bullion is only a commodity, which may be advantageously exported in exchange for any material of a beneficial trade. An unwrought commodity manufactured at home, whilst it gives employment to our people, will produce gold and silver; for industry is the true source of riches: besides, trade seldom can be forced but to a great disadvantage, and perhaps in no country with more difficulty and loss than in PERSIA. Nor can the consumption of our manufactures be diminished by exporting bullion, unless we suppose that where money is plenty, there will be less demand for cloathing; whereas experience proves the contrary: and as to bartering cloth for silk, it is not practised in PERSIA; but ready money being paid for such silk, the PERSIAN merchant will lay it out again in cloth if he finds it beneficial. When a market is glutted, it is often better to sell even at a loss, which may be always done where there is money, and by this means make quick returns, than to suffer goods to lay-by any length of time:  
when



when a market is NOT glutted, manufactures or merchandize are always supposed to be most beneficial to the private merchants, and consequently the import of them preferred to gold or silver: but if at any certain time there is absolutely no demand for our goods, is it beneficial to a nation to prohibit the use of gold and silver in the purchase of an unwrought commodity, the manufactory of which brings an accumulation of wealth?

We do in fact send out gold and silver to several countries in EUROPE<sup>b</sup>, from whence we receive only wrought commodities, or useless articles. But if the prohibition of employing gold or silver is founded in reason, it cannot operate to the intent of the legislature in particular cases. It does not, I think, seem applicable to the TURKEY nor to the INDIAN trade; nor will it I conceive be to that of PERSIA, if ever we establish ourselves again in the northern provinces of that country.

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## C H A P. XI.

*Enquiries concerning the LEVANT trade in 1744. The great advantage of it. The importance of our woollen manufactures. Further reasons for the decay of the LEVANT trade. The interposition of the crown necessary.*

OUR TURKEY trade was now fallen into so sensible a decay, that several persons, particularly clothiers and packers, began to interest themselves deeply: Mr. JOHN LODGE, an eminent packer, shewed a patriot spirit upon this occasion: and, in conjunction with several considerable merchants, he espoused the cause of the national interest, as it appeared to him, with a becoming warmth. The decay of this branch of commerce was obvious, but the causes of it were not universally understood, though it had been so much canvassed not long before<sup>c</sup>.

The desire to vindicate our own acts is natural to us, and where private advantage and inclination interfere with the public interest, the lat-

<sup>b</sup> HOLLAND and SWEDEN in particular, and from HOLLAND we export silver to RUSSIA, which constitutes part of the ballance of our trade with that country.

<sup>c</sup> See vol. I. chap. VIII.



ter generally suffers. The TURKEY company became suspected of partiality, but the complainants were subject to the same imputation: the latter urged that the conduct of that company was the only cause of the decay in question, and that to make it intirely a free and open trade would be the best or only remedy to restore it. Upon enquiry into the circumstances of the LEVANT traders, it was found that our annual imports of raw filk from all countries, except TURKEY, for 21 years, viz. from the year 1720 to 1740 inclusive, did not exceed 170,000 great pounds of 24 ounces, of which was brought from the EAST INDIES about 120,000

|            |   |   |   |   |   |        |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|
| From ITALY | — | — | — | — | — | 30,000 |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|

|                                                   |   |   |   |   |   |        |
|---------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|
| From SPAIN, and other places in the MEDITERRANEAN | — | — | — | — | — | 20,000 |
|---------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|

|                                                                                                                                 |   |   |   |   |   |         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| But from TURKEY only, including the three following years,<br>viz. from 1720 to 1743, of the same weight was yearly<br>imported | — | — | — | — | — | 206,000 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|

|                                                                                                                                                                                               |   |   |   |   |   |         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| The importation however decreased very fast. In 5 years,<br>from 1722 to 1726, the import from TURKEY was<br>1,472,491 small pounds of 16 ounces, which amounts an-<br>nually to great pounds | — | — | — | — | — | 196,000 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|

|                                                                                           |   |   |   |   |   |        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|
| But in 1737 to 1741, it was 659,519 small pounds, which<br>are great pounds annually only | — | — | — | — | — | 88,336 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|

|                                                                        |   |   |   |   |   |         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| Mohair yarn imported from TURKEY for the above 23 years,<br>was yearly | — | — | — | — | — | 200,000 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|

|                                                                           |   |   |   |   |   |         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| Cotton wool for 20 years, as above, from the year 1721 to<br>1740, yearly | — | — | — | — | — | 330,000 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|

|                                   |   |   |   |   |   |        |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|
| Cotton yarn for the said 20 years | — | — | — | — | — | 60,000 |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|

Thus at a moderate computation, viz. filk at 19 s. the great pound, cotton wool at 1 s. cotton yarn at 2 s. and mohair at 6 s.<sup>d</sup> deducting 15 per cent. for duties, freight and charges, which is also national profit, remains 236,470 l. There was also a considerable value in rhubarb, coffee and other drugs, to make up the annual amount of our imports.

The value of our woollens exported to TURKEY, together with tin, cochineal, and some lead, for the above 20 years, has been annually on-

<sup>d</sup> Raw AMERICAN cotton is at 20 d. mohair from TURKEY, according to the quality, is from 2 s. 6 d. to 12 s. the pound.



ly 180,000 l. From hence it appears what considerable advantages have been made by the LEVANT merchants, and how much it is an object worthy of the national protection; for if by exporting 180,000 l. for the most part in our wrought wool, the source from whence our riches are chiefly derived, we could have returns in unwrought commodities annually to the value of 236,470 l. how many thousands of the industrious and most deserving part of this nation would not such a trade employ in a series of years; and what an accumulation of wealth would it not produce! This consideration should awaken all our care, to adapt our cloth to the taste of the TURKS, and indeed of every nation; and to be assiduous not only to preserve the trade we already possess, but also to extend it, at the same time as we guard against the consequences of the industry and application of those who are already come in for a large share of this commerce.

The state in which several other nations have lived for some ages, seems to have soothed us into a notion that things will always remain in the same condition: this lulls us into a security with regard to their commercial enterprizes, and is the occasion of our reluctance to believe any thing to their advantage. Can there be a greater proof of the rapidity with which a manufacture makes its progress, when encouraged by a powerful prince than is met with in FRANCE? In the year 1700 there were only 3000 pieces of cloths made in LANGUEDOC, but in 1740, the same province manufactured 80,000 pieces. It is very clear from the great progress of the FRENCH, that although GREAT BRITAIN abounds most in materials, skill and industry can bring other nations to rival, and, in some instances, even to excel us at some markets.

It is true, that the long and best sort of wool was for some time full a guinea per tod of 29 lbs. which is above 20 per cent. more than the common price. The demand for our woollen manufactures both for ASIA and AMERICA, as well as in the several markets of EUROPE, has been also very great of late years, and probably will in some measure continue the same; however, every flow must naturally have its ebb, as the same experience evinces<sup>c</sup>. We ought not by any means to think we

<sup>c</sup> In 1752, coarse woollens are fallen in price near 20 per cent.



are in no danger, whilst our observation proves what other nations are able to perform. If our very success argues the great importance of preserving our manufactures, it is deeply incumbent upon us to keep the manufacturers to a just standard: in this the interest of gentlemen who have large pasture lands is intimately concerned, as well as that of the trader, and indeed of the whole nation; we ought therefore to be watchful, not only to afford these manufactures on easy terms, but to improve and adapt them to every taste: and upon this point, next to the materials, the contest will chiefly rest. The peculiar advantages which some nations enjoy, can hardly ever be forfeited without their own faults: we have seen the complaint of the LEVANT traders, with regard to their cloth; the same complaint would have existed in the CASPIAN trade, had it continued; and it cannot be intirely from the connexion there is between the FRENCH and the POLANDERS, that the latter take of us only coarse cloths; FRANCE and AIX LA CHAPPEL annually furnish them with 100,000 l. value in cloth, which is inferior to ours in substance and duration, but its softness, colour and lightness give it a preference in their esteem. We are every day making new fabrics, and shew great art and fertility of invention in articles of less moment. No nation can make such excellent cloth as this; why we do not employ our skill and industry to accommodate every taste, and to come in for a share at every market, whilst our natural advantages secure some to us intirely, is what I do not comprehend, unless we are glutted with riches.

The complaints already mentioned prove how inconsiderate our clothiers are, who from a presumption of being sure of a demand regard only the present moment; and we generally find the quality of goods is inferior, in proportion as the demand is large: the consequence is, that when the demand slackens, the manufacturer cannot be easily brought back to his proper standard of work. Another matter of complaint is, that the excesses to which our common people are addicted, have increased the price of their labour beyond the due proportion of the value of provisions, so that the clothier is tempted to increase his quantity rather than improve the quality of his goods. These evils, though difficult  
to



to cure, are certainly not irremediable; but the attention of the merchant, in conjunction with the legislature, may, in a great measure, prevent the pernicious consequences.

As the world grows more enlightened, every country will make efforts to be independent: the consequence must be, that the nation whose luxury at home raises the value of all its productions most, will have the least foreign trade; and if at the same time it makes a great consumption of foreign productions, it will certainly decline into poverty. If we learnt the art of parsimony in any tolerable degree, we should fight our neighbours with a two-edged sword.

It may be justly considered as one argument of the great opulency of this nation, that many artificers, mechanics, and even persons of laborious professions, have by their industry acquired great fortunes, and live in splendour; this is hardly to be found in any other nation. FRANCE, which is our great competitor, can hardly produce an instance of a dyer, packer, or other mechanic employed in preparing and finishing manufactories, who are arrived to such a condition of life. The luxury in FRANCE does not appear to have yet reached to near the height as it is in ENGLAND, among the middling or laborious orders of the people; and whilst they can procure the necessary parts of labour much cheaper than we do, they must consequently have the advantage over us. But it is time to put an end to this digression, and to return more immediately to the TURKEY trade.

What passed in the year 1718<sup>f</sup>, is a convincing proof that the company fell into mistakes, through an impatient desire of private gain, injurious to the national interest; nor is it so much to be wondered at as lamented; but it did not follow that the trade could, in the nature of things, be made free and open. On the contrary, there were several reasons for the decay of the TURKEY trade, foreign to the exclusive privileges of the company: among many others which they assigned, was that of the heavy expence with which it was loaded; for it appeared by accounts

<sup>f</sup> See vol. I. p. 54.



from 1733 to 1740, that the sums levied on the LEVANT company at  
CONSTANTINOPLE were no less than - - - - - 214,074 dollars

At SMYRNA, for the same time - - - - - 57,628

At ALEPPO, for the same time - - - - - 80,065

Which, including extraordinary presents, and reckoning the dollars at 3 s.  
comes to 8000 l. a year, which is about 4 per cent. upon their exports,  
a burthen which no EUROPEAN trade at this time can bear, and what  
had now involved the company in a heavy debt.

No man will doubt that every kingdom is rich, in proportion to the  
number and opulency of its inhabitants; is it not then the interest of the  
crown of GREAT BRITAIN, and of the whole nation to ease this branch  
of trade, and to support the embassador in TURKEY, whose appointments  
are about half the sum in question? and would it not be for the dignity  
and advantage of the government, that the embassador should not only  
appear as the king's servant, but have a fixt salary from the crown, at  
a court where regal power is so much respected? Certainly this circum-  
stance is worthy of more attention from the legislature than yet appears  
to have been bestowed upon it. Among other minuter particulars which I  
have heard complained of there is this, that we have not any LAZARET-  
TO at STANLEY CREEK, so that the cargoes are deprived of many conve-  
niences in quarantain which other nations enjoy.

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## C H A P. XII.

*Necessity of regulations in TURKEY. Companies essential to some trades.  
The great benefits of the oriental trade. The JEWS refused admittance  
into the TURKEY trade. A bill proposed for regulating the LEVANT  
trade.*

**M**onopolies, or exclusive privileges, are generally ungrateful to the  
people of a free state; it was therefore natural to those who had  
not any personal knowledge abroad, nor experience at home, relating to  
the commerce of ASIA, to think that a total freedom in the TURKEY  
trade



trade would remove the evils under which it laboured: the difference between the CHRISTIAN and MOHOMMEDAN religions, also the various politics and customs, render it indispensably necessary that our factors in TURKEY, should be under subordination and restrictions: but this never could be the case, was the trade open as that of PORTUGAL or SPAIN: and though in the circumstances of this declining trade, as great an indulgence ought to have been shewn to every subject, as the nature of the thing will admit; yet the interest of the company I do not conceive can be preserved without an incorporated society, who, by keeping their factors in due subordination abroad, will watch over the honour of the nation, as well as their own commercial interest.

The want of such a society in our CASPIAN trade, produced many sad proofs of that discord which must threaten the subversion of every establishment of this nature. The RUSSIA merchants are but nominally a body corporate, compared with the LEVANT traders, and however good the inclinations of the former might be, they could not support that œconomy which the nature of their circumstances required. This, to all appearance, would be the case with the TURKEY company, was their trade left intirely open: indeed this must ever be the case, in proportion to the necessity there is of supporting good order abroad, as well as at home.

But this argument receives an additional force, with regard to countries where our military strength is essential to the support of our commerce. We have seen this verified lately in the AFRICAN trade, till the crown took the care and burthen of supporting the fortifications in that quarter of the world. It is true, some directors of companies in past times, have played so unfair a game, as will probably render their names odious; but this makes nothing against the general notion of companies, as essential to the conduct of certain trades, more than the evil administration of a minister does to government in general. There are, I know, several persons of very eminent rank and authority in this country, who have contracted an invincible prejudice against trading companies; but they do not seem to distinguish the nature and circumstances of the several branches



of trade, to which different kinds of œconomy are necessary, particularly in our ASIATIC commerce.

And now I have mentioned this subject, it may not be improper to observe, that the oriental trade is truly the mistress and sovereign of all others, and has been so for many ages. The PORTUGUEZE and the DUTCH laid the foundation of their power and reputation in this commerce: with regard to the BRITISH nation it ever must be of the highest moment, not only on account of the immediate advantages derived from it, but also to check the growing power of FRANCE and other nations in regard to their commercial interest in ASIA: it can be no diminution of the value of this trade, as some imagine, that many articles imported from thence, serve only to promote luxury; for upon the same principle GREAT BRITAIN may reject the fruit and wine of PORTUGAL and SPAIN with the sugar and tobacco of AMERICA; and this would carry us into a speculation foreign to the present constitution of the world, with regard to commerce in general.

When we consider the great numbers of hands employed as mechanics as well as seamen, this trade appears to be an object of the highest national regard: nor is it any solid objection to the oriental trade, that it requires the exportation of a great quantity of silver; for the wealth of a nation is not to be computed from the quantity of gold and silver in it; OUR riches at least consist in the produce of the country, and the industry of the inhabitants: by these this nation is become great and powerful; by these we draw silver from MEXICO, and gold from BRAZIL in so ample a proportion; and even from EAST INDIA we have supplies of gold; so that in this course of circulation what detriment is it if we send a quantity of silver to ASIA? We are to consider further the great advantages of exporting our woollen manufactures, and of importing from thence raw silk and raw cotton, which furnish fresh employment to our people: we are to remember the useful commodities of other countries, which we receive in return for our INDIA goods, and the ballance in money: in a word, it may be asserted, that the advantages are too apparent to need any enumeration.

As



As to the LEVANT trade, I can easily comprehend the force of the arguments which the TURKEY company used upon this occasion, with regard to the danger of letting in all sorts of people, and consequently of taking off such salutary restrictions as experience has proved to be necessary. It was not, I presume, from an impatient desire of power that the TURKEY traders rejected the measures proposed: every nation trading to TURKEY makes and practices rules different from those in use in their commerce with CHRISTIANS. The DUTCH<sup>s</sup>, who are not in so good a condition in TURKEY as the ENGLISH, have, among others, one distinguished regulation, which is, that no ship of less burthen than 300 tuns, and mounting 24 guns, shall go to TURKEY: and the FRENCH, whom I have already mentioned, support the utmost uniformity of conduct in regard to this trade, both at home and abroad. The duty which our TURKEY company have taxed themselves with at present, is 3 per cent. on goods consigned to their own factors, and 5 per cent. if consigned to the subjects of the GRAND SEIGNIOR; and none but a subject of GREAT BRITAIN and free of the company, can send any goods to that country; but that freedom may now be easily procured. The ENGLISH factors have hardly been known to make any difficulty in paying this duty, and if they do, the remedy is by distraining.

The power of determining disputes between the BRITISH subjects in our factories abroad, is generally vested in the BRITISH consul, in a greater or lesser degree, according to the difference of places; but this seems to be founded rather in the consent of parties, than in any law of our constitution, so that appeals are often made to the national magistrates; whereas in TURKEY all differences are determined within ourselves, and and generally brought to a speedy decision.

It is a good maxim in commerce, to keep it as much as possible in its course, and not make alterations by way of experiment; but the sickly condition of this trade demanded a more salutary regimen. In what proportion it had decayed in the five last years, with respect to raw silk, mo-

<sup>s</sup> They have however a consul at SMYRNA and ALEPPO, and a minister at CONSTANTINOPLE, and, if they do not equal, come near us in point of interest in that country.



hair and cloth, the following is an extract from the custom-house, which was published upon this occasion, viz.

Silk imported from TURKEY the  
five preceeding years.

|      |     | lbs.                   |
|------|-----|------------------------|
| 1734 | — — | 274,720 $\frac{5}{12}$ |
| 1735 | — — | 106,401                |
| 1736 | — — | 227,976                |
| 1737 | — — | 87,774                 |
| 1738 | — — | 168,634                |
|      |     | <hr/>                  |
|      |     | 865,505 $\frac{5}{12}$ |

Silk imported from TURKEY the  
last five years.

|      |     | lbs.                  |
|------|-----|-----------------------|
| 1739 | — — | 170,391               |
| 1740 | — — | none                  |
| 1741 | — — | 324,175               |
| 1742 | — — | 2 $\frac{2}{3}$       |
| 1743 | — — | 138,308 $\frac{1}{3}$ |
|      |     | <hr/>                 |
|      |     | 632,877               |

Mohair yarn imported from TUR-  
KEY the five preceeding years.

|      |     | lbs.    |
|------|-----|---------|
| 1734 | — — | 97,327  |
| 1735 | — — | none    |
| 1736 | — — | 236,722 |
| 1737 | — — | 241,179 |
| 1738 | — — | 216,806 |
|      |     | <hr/>   |
|      |     | 792,034 |

Mohair yarn imported from TUR-  
KEY the last five years.

|      |     | lbs.    |
|------|-----|---------|
| 1739 | — — | 49,388  |
| 1740 | — — | none    |
| 1741 | — — | 152,146 |
| 1742 | — — | none    |
| 1743 | — — | 208,699 |
|      |     | <hr/>   |
|      |     | 410,233 |

Cloth exported to TURKEY the  
five preceeding years.

|      | long cloths          | short cloths |
|------|----------------------|--------------|
| 1734 | 4,766 $\frac{1}{3}$  | 500          |
| 1735 | 18,946 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3,150        |
| 1736 | 8,368                | 1,485        |
| 1737 | 11,463               | 2,182        |
| 1738 | 21,574 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1,664        |
|      | <hr/>                | <hr/>        |
|      | 65,118 $\frac{1}{3}$ | 8,981        |

Cloth exported to TURKEY the  
last five years.

|      | long cloths          | short cloths        |
|------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1739 | 1,991 $\frac{2}{3}$  | 660                 |
| 1740 | 8,254                | 1,680 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1741 | 3,910                | 583                 |
| 1742 | 5,168                | 2,222               |
| 1743 | 12,100               | 1,750               |
|      | <hr/>                | <hr/>               |
|      | 31,423 $\frac{2}{3}$ | 6,895 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
|      |                      | A review            |



A review of this account could not but alarm the commercial part of the nation, and induce the legislature to take it seriously into their consideration.

The JEWS now desired to be admitted into a share of the trade, and the demand of the generality of the people was for an open commerce, or a limitation of the charter granted to the TURKEY company: the JEWS were strongly objected to, particularly by those members of the company who had most experience in the trade. The consideration of difference in religion among people subject to one common government, does not seem essential in commercial affairs, nor is it regarded much in our EUROPEAN trade; but the great influence they are supposed to have in ASIA, created an insuperable difficulty to their admittance. It seemed natural to believe, that by admitting no other JEWS than those of LONDON, and placing these under the same common restrictions as other subjects, that they would employ their power in favour of this nation, under whose government they are happy. It appeared however on this occasion, as if they were doomed to be excluded on account of their religion, at least it seemed a hard supposition, that EUROPEAN JEWS should be at the bottom of all schemes against EUROPEAN trade with ASIA, as was then alledged. It was further objected, that the JEWS in CONSTANTINOPLE would promote a monopoly of the TURKEY commodities with the JEWS in ENGLAND, to the prejudice of the other subjects of this nation, and that the JEWISH factors abroad would underwork the CHRISTIANS: it was also urged, that the influence of the JEWS, arising from their great riches, would have too great a weight in the commercial scale. But was not this an acknowledgment that they were bold traders, possessed of large capitals, and would be contented with small profits? if it was, and that the trade was really in danger of being lost to this nation, were not these the very people who bid fairest to rival the FRENCH? There was yet a further objection, that they might go to market to MARSEILLES for their cloths, and only bring their filk here: even this might be preferable to the loss of the trade, for all commodities which we manufacture at home, are certainly great national benefits: but it was reasonable



able to imagine, that the JEWS under the protection of the BRITISH crown, might be restrained to a subjection to BRITISH laws, as well in commerce as in civil society in general.

It was however allowed, that the JEWS who reside in TURKEY are, for the most part, an immoral people, and have by a kind of confederacy established an exorbitant brokerage of 1 or more per cent. as it were by inheritance; and this reason, joined to others of the like nature, induced the FRENCH to stipitulate with the TURKS, that they might not be obliged to employ JEWS. The debate, which at this time ran high, was at length reduced to this issue, viz. whether the liberty of trading to TURKEY should be granted to all his majesty's subjects, or to all his christian subjects only; and whether it should be made an open trade, or continue exclusive under the restrictions the legislature might judge necessary. Upon this occasion the following bill for enlarging and regulating the trade to the LEVANT seas was proposed to the parliament.

“ **W** HEREAS king JAMES the first by his letters patent, bearing date the  
“ fourteenth day of December, in the third year of his reign, did grant  
“ to several persons therein named, and to their sons, and such others as should  
“ then after be admitted or made free, that they should be one fellowship, and  
“ one body corporate and politic, by the name of the governor and company of  
“ merchants of ENGLAND, trading into the LEVANT seas, and by the same name  
“ should have perpetual succession; and did direct, that all persons, subjects of  
“ this realm, being mere merchants, which then were, or after the date of the said  
“ letters patent, should happen to be under the age of twenty-six years, or not out  
“ of his or their apprenticeships, should be admitted into the freedom of the said  
“ company, if he or they should demand the same, within one year next after  
“ he or they should attain the age of twenty-six years, or within one year after the  
“ end of his or their apprenticeships, and should offer and pay to the said governor  
“ and company, for his or their admittance, the sum of twenty-five pounds; and  
“ did further direct, that all persons, subjects of this realm of ENGLAND, being  
“ mere merchants, above the age of twenty-six years, should be admitted into  
“ the freedom of the said company, upon paying a fine of fifty pounds; and did  
“ also direct, that all and every the sons of such as were or should be free of the  
“ said company, and also all their apprentices employed in that trade, for the  
“ space of three years or upwards, within the limit of the said letters patent,  
“ should,



“ should, after the end of their apprenticeships, be admitted to the freedom of  
“ the said company, on payment of the sum of twenty shillings only :

“ And whereas king CHARLES the second, by his letters patent, bearing date  
“ the second day of April, in the thirteenth year of his reign, did ratify and con-  
“ firm the same letters patent of king JAMES the first ; and did further direct, that  
“ no person residing within twenty miles of the city of LONDON should be admit-  
“ ted into the freedom of the said company, or have any benefit of the privileges  
“ thereof, unless he be made free of the said city.

“ And whereas of late years the trade into the LEVANT seas has very much de-  
“ creased ; and the taking of less fines for the admission of persons into the free-  
“ dom of the said company, and not restraining the freedom thereof to mere  
“ merchants, and such persons only who reside within twenty miles of the city  
“ of LONDON, as are free of the said city, and the allowing persons admitted into  
“ the said company to trade jointly or separately, and to export all sorts of goods  
“ and merchandize of the growth, produce or manufacture of GREAT BRITAIN,  
“ or the dominions thereof, or the EAST INDIES (not prohibited by law to be ex-  
“ ported) to any port or place within the limits of the said letters patent, from  
“ what parts of GREAT BRITAIN, and at what time, and in what quantity, and  
“ on board what ships (navigated according to law) they shall respectively think  
“ proper ; and also to import in the like manner, from any port or place within  
“ the limits of the said letters patent, raw silk, or any other goods or commodi-  
“ ties purchased within the said limits (not prohibited by law to be imported) by  
“ barter, with woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities exported  
“ from GREAT BRITAIN, into any port or place within the limits of the said let-  
“ ters patent, gold or silver in coin or bullion excepted, or with the produce a-  
“ rising from the sales of such manufactures, goods or commodities so exported  
“ as aforesaid, are the most probable means to recover and extend the said trade,  
“ for the benefit of this nation :

“ May it therefore please your most excellent majesty, that it may be enacted,  
“ that from and after the 24th day of June 1744, every subject of this realm,  
“ desiring admission into the said company of merchants of ENGLAND trading in-  
“ to the LEVANT seas, commonly called or known by the name of the TURKEY  
“ company, on request in that behalf to be made to the governor or deputy go-  
“ vernor, shall be admitted into the said company, within the space of twenty-  
“ eight days after such request shall be made, and shall have, use and enjoy, all  
“ the liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, franchises, powers and authorities, grant-



“ ed to the said company by the said letters patent, as largely, fully and amply,  
“ too all intents, constructions and purposes, as any other member of the said  
“ company could, can, or may have, use or enjoy the same, by virtue of the said  
“ letters patent, such subject paying for such his admission, for the use of the said  
“ company, only the sum of twenty pounds and no more, and taking the usual  
“ oath of the freemen of the said company, or being of the people called QUAKERS, the affirmation.

“ And be it further enacted, that from and after the said 24th day of June  
“ 1744, the sum of twenty pounds and no more, shall be demanded, taken or  
“ accepted, by the said company, for any admission to the freedom thereof; the  
“ said letters patent, or any statute, law, order, constitution or ordinance of  
“ the said company, made or to be made to the contrary thereof in any wise  
“ notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted, that where any person or persons residing in any  
“ out-port, or any other place within this realm, being subjects thereof, shall  
“ make request to be admitted into the said company, by his agent or deputy,  
“ making tender of twenty pounds for his admission, the governor or deputy  
“ governor, shall, within twenty days after such request, appoint one or more  
“ person or persons to admit such person or persons into the freedom of the said  
“ company; and to administer to him or them the oath to be taken by the free-  
“ men of the said company, or being one of the people called QUAKERS, a so-  
“ lemn affirmation; which oath or affirmation he or they are hereby impowered  
“ to administer; which admission, and administration of the said oath or affirma-  
“ tion, shall be as good and effectual, as if the same were actually done by the  
“ said governor or deputy governor.

“ And be it further enacted, that if any person, being a subject of this realm,  
“ shall, by himself or his agent, make request to be admitted into the said com-  
“ pany, and shall pay or tender, or cause to be paid or tendered, the sum of  
“ twenty pounds for his admission, as directed by this act, and he shall be refused  
“ to be admitted and made free of the said company, contrary to the true in-  
“ tent and meaning of this act; every such person being so refused, shall be from  
“ thenceforth deemed to be, and shall be, free of the said company, and a mem-  
“ ber thereof, and shall enjoy the same liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, fran-  
“ chises, powers and authorities, in as full and ample a manner as any other  
“ member of the said company doth or may enjoy any thing herein, or in the  
“ said letters patent contained, or in any statute, law, order, constitution, or ordi-  
“ nance



“ nance of the said company, made or to be made, to the contrary thereof in  
“ any wise notwithstanding.

“ Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be constru-  
“ ed to extend, to oblige the sons of such person or persons as are or shall be  
“ free of the said company, on or before the said 24th day of June 1744, nor  
“ any person or persons, who are, or shall be, apprentices to any merchant or  
“ merchants free of the said company, on or before the said 24th day of June  
“ 1744, to pay any greater sum for his or their admittance into the freedom of  
“ the said company, than the sum of twenty shillings.

“ And be it further enacted, that from and after the said 24th day of June  
“ 1744, all and every person or persons being free, or to be made free, of the said  
“ company, may and shall separately or jointly export, or cause to be exported,  
“ out of GREAT BRITAIN, to any port or place within the limits of the said let-  
“ ters patent, in any BRITISH or plantation built ships navigated according to  
“ law, at any time, to any person or persons whatsoever, being subjects of this  
“ realm and free of the said company, or sons or apprentices of freemen of the  
“ said company, so long as he or they shall continue to submit to and remain  
“ under the protection and direction of the BRITISH ambassador and consuls re-  
“ spectively for the time being, and subject to the by-laws and regulations of  
“ the said company, and from any port or place in GREAT BRITAIN, as he or  
“ they shall think proper, any goods, wares or merchandizes of the growth, pro-  
“ duce or manufacture of GREAT BRITAIN, or the dominions thereof, or the EAST  
“ INDIES, (not prohibited by law to be exported) and also to import in the like  
“ manner, from any port or place within the limits of the said letters patent,  
“ from any person or persons whatsoever, being subjects of this realm and free of  
“ the said company, or sons or apprentices of freemen of the said company, so  
“ long as he or they shall continue to submit to, and remain under the protecti-  
“ on and direction of the BRITISH ambassador and consuls respectively for the  
“ time being, and subject to the by-laws and regulations of the said company, raw  
“ silk, or any goods or commodities purchased within the said limits: (not pro-  
“ hibited by law to be exported) such raw silk, goods or commodities, being pur-  
“ chased by barter, with woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities,  
“ exported from GREAT BRITAIN into any port or place within the limits of the said  
“ letters patent, (gold or silver in coin or bullion excepted) or with the produce  
“ arising from the sales of such manufactures, goods or commodities exported as  
“ aforesaid, or with the produce arising from the freights of such ships, or from  
“ consulage,



“ consulage, or the commission for factorage upon manufactures, goods or commodities which have been or shall be exported from, and imported to GREAT BRITAIN, and not otherwise, upon paying and securing the customs and other duties payable for the same, to his majesty, his heirs and successors, by any law now in force; and upon paying such sum or sums of money as are or shall from time to time be adjudged requisite and convenient for the common profit or sustentation, or the necessary and reasonable stipends, and other charges of the said company, and are or shall be assessed on any goods, wares, or merchandizes, to be exported or imported as aforesaid, or upon any ships laden with the same, by the greater part of any general court of the said company; any statute, law, order, constitution or ordinance of the said company, made or to be made to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted, that from and after the 25th day of March 1745, every commander, master, or person having the charge of any ship or vessel, on board of which any raw silk, goods or commodities purchased within the limits of the said letters patent, shall be laden or shipped to be imported into this kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN, shall produce and deliver to the collector or comptroller, or other chief officer of the customs, at the port or place where such ships shall be unladen at the time of making his report, a certificate or manifest under the hand and seal of the ambassador, agent, resident, consul or vice-consul for the time being, residing at the port or place, where such raw silk, goods or commodities were laden or shipped, testifying that the person or persons, to whom such certificate or manifest is granted, had made oath, or, being one of the people called QUAKERS, had solemnly affirmed before him, that such raw silk, goods or commodities, were truly purchased by barter with woollen goods or other manufactures, goods or commodities which had been exported from GREAT BRITAIN, or with the produce arising from the sales or commissions for factorage of such manufactures, goods or commodities; or from consulage, or with the produce arising from the freight of such ship or vessel, or any other BRITISH or plantation-built ship or vessel, which had been employed in the said trade, to the best of his or their knowledge or belief; which oath or affirmation, the said ambassador, agent, resident, consul or vice-consul respectively, is hereby authorized to administer; and the said commander, master, or person having the charge of any such ship or vessel, shall likewise make oath, or, if he be one of the people called QUAKERS, solemnly affirm before the said collector, comptroller, or other chief officer of the customs, at the time when he delivers such certificate or manifest as aforesaid, that  
“ such



“ such raw silk, goods or commodities were truly shipped, or put on board, at  
“ the port or place, as in the said certificate or manifest is mentioned.

“ And be it further enacted, that if any person shall falsely make any oath or  
“ affirmation, by this act directed to be made, and shall thereof be legally con-  
“ victed, such person shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds of lawful mo-  
“ ney of GREAT BRITAIN, and be imprisoned for the space of six months, and if  
“ any person shall forge or counterfeit any certificate or manifest by this act direct-  
“ ed, or shall publish such certificate or manifest, knowing the same to be forged  
“ or counterfeited, and be legally convicted thereof, such person shall forfeit the  
“ sum of two hundred pounds of lawful money of GREAT BRITAIN, and be im-  
“ prisoned for the space of twelve months, and if any commander, master, or  
“ person having the charge of any such ship or vessel shall land, or suffer or per-  
“ mit to be landed, out of any such ship or vessel, in any port or place in GREAT  
“ BRITAIN, any raw silk, goods or commodities laden or shipped in any port or  
“ place within the limits of the said letters patent, before he hath delivered  
“ such certificate or manifest, and made such oath or solemn affirmation as afore-  
“ said, such commander, master, or person, being legally convicted thereof,  
“ shall forfeit and pay treble the value of such raw silk, goods or commodities,  
“ and all and every such forfeiture or forfeitures aforementioned, shall be sued  
“ for, recovered and adjudged in any of his majesty's courts of record in GREAT  
“ BRITAIN, with full costs of suit, by bill, plaint, information or action, where-  
“ in no privilege, protection, wager of law, or more than one imparlance shall  
“ be allowed, and one third part of all such forfeiture or forfeitures so recover-  
“ ed, shall go and be paid to his majesty, his heirs and successors, one other third  
“ part to the governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading into the  
“ LEVANT seas, and the other third part to him or them who shall inform and  
“ sue for the same.

“ Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be constru-  
“ ed to extend, to authorize or empower any person or persons, being free of  
“ the said company, to vote or give any voice or suffrage in the election, nomi-  
“ nation, choice or appointment of any officers or minister employed, or to be  
“ employed by the said company, or in the change or removal of them, or any  
“ of them, or in disposing of the company's monies, unless such person or per-  
“ sons hath or have in his own name, and for his own account, traded in the  
“ said company, so far as to pay forty shillings at the least, in impositions to  
“ the



“ the said company, towards the public charges, within one year then next, before  
 “ such vote, voice or suffrage is to be given.

“ And be it further enacted, that the said governor or deputy-governor, shall,  
 “ and are hereby required to call a general court as often as request shall be  
 “ made to the said governor or deputy-governor, in that behalf, by writing  
 “ under the hands of any seven or more of the members of the said company,  
 “ within ten days after such request shall be made, as aforesaid; any thing in  
 “ the before-recited letters patent, or any statute, law, order, constitution or or-  
 “ dinance of the said company, to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwith-  
 “ standing.”

This bill, after passing the commons, was thrown out of the house of lords by a majority of three: it must be observed however, as the case stands, the trade does not seem to suffer any inconvenience from the exclusive privilege of the TURKEY company, as admittance is given for 20 l. but it does appear even at this time <sup>b</sup>, that to one ship which we have in the TURKEY trade, the FRENCH have ten; and unless we should have a successful naval war, we shall hardly be able to exceed even this proportion; it may be well if we do not yet loose ground.

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### C H A P. XIII.

*Fresh difficulties with relation to the CASPIAN trade. The merchants petition his majesty. The king's letter to SHAH NADIR upon this occasion. The SHAH's decree in relation to JOHN ELTON.*

**T**O return to what concerns the CASPIAN trade, it seemed impracticable to induce Mr. ELTON to leave PERSIA; on the contrary he continued to pursue his design. He had surmounted so many difficulties, that it was hard to say whether he was a greater object of hatred or admiration to the RUSSIANS: but certain it is he compleated one vessel intended to mount 20 three-pounders, which is of greater force than the RUSSIANS ever navigated on the CASPIAN: this being a royal ship, the person who had the charge of her thought proper to require naval honours of the RUSSIAN merchant ships on the PERSIAN coast; several o-



ther complaints were sent to court, some false, and others of a trifling nature; the great object was the PERSIAN ship already afloat, and the other vessels on the stocks, which they apprehended might soon be equipped. The cloud which had hung over us for some time, now grew darker; but our vexation did not arise only from the disgust of the RUSSIANS, for the prohibition of correspondency with Mr. ELTON, occasioned his arresting a large quantity of goods brought by the new factors, messieurs PRESTON and THOMPSON, on a claim of commission due on them. This caused an alarm among the merchants in LONDON, who immediately applied to the king: his majesty, with his wonted humanity and tenderness, shewed a particular readiness to oblige the RUSSIA company, by writing to NADIR SHAH about the beginning of 1746. The king's letter was as follows:

“GEORGE THE SECOND, by the grace of almighty God creator of  
 “heaven and earth, king of GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE and IRE-  
 “LAND, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the chris-  
 “tian faith, &c. The most high exalted PRINCE in ample honour and  
 “dignity sends kind salutations, with wishes of health and true hap-  
 “piness.

“Most noble and most mighty prince,

“THE governor and company of our royal merchants trading to  
 “RUSSIA, and through RUSSIA to PERSIA, having represented to  
 “us that JOHN ELTON, whom we recommended to your serenity by our  
 “royal letter of the 7th of February in the year of our lord 1743-4,  
 “had by his management almost ruined the trade of our subjects to your  
 “serenity's dominions, though it is of great advantage to our respective  
 “kingdoms, and that there was remaining a considerable ballance due  
 “to our merchants; and the company having determined not to employ  
 “JOHN ELTON in their service, have besought us to recommend to your  
 “protection their new factors, MARTIN KYCK VAN MIEROP, CHARLES  
 “GEORGE PRESTON, CHARLES THOMPSON, and RICHARD WILDER, as  
 “our favoured subjects and merchants; and also that your serenity would  
 “command that JOHN ELTON do immediately settle and adjust with the  
 “said



" said factors the accounts and demands depending, by paying the bal-  
 " lance, and delivering to them such goods as remain in his hands be-  
 " longing to our company of merchants not disposed of. We have  
 " thought fit to acquaint your serenity therewith, and desire that you  
 " will favour our merchants with your royal countenance and protection,  
 " not doubting but that your serenity will, upon the receipt of this our  
 " royal letter, cause justice to be done to our company and merchants,  
 " by ordering JOHN ELTON to settle the accounts depending between our  
 " merchants and him; to pay the ballance that shall appear to be due  
 " to the new factors hereby recommended to your serenity, and to deli-  
 " ver to them such goods belonging to the company's trading members  
 " as may remain in his hands.

" As justice is the glory of princes, we can make no doubt of your  
 " serenity's ready compliance with this our request, since the trade car-  
 " rying on by our subjects in PERSIA tends so highly to the advantage  
 " of both nations, and requires particular marks of your favour and sup-  
 " port. We hope that as our merchants are strangers in your empire,  
 " and place their entire dependance in your royal favour and protection,  
 " your serenity will hear them favourably, and redress any grievances  
 " they may now represent, or may at any time hereafter have just cause  
 " to lay before you. We cannot conclude without congratulating your  
 " serenity upon the glorious success of your invincible arms, and repeat-  
 " ing our wishes of health and true happiness to your serenity and your  
 " royal family. Given at our court at St. JAMES'S."

Mr. ELTON had in the interim petitioned as complainant, and obtained the following decree from NADIR SHAH.

" **I**N the name of the exalted God; it is the imperial command, that  
 " the magnificent ACHMED BEG, KURYSAUL BASHI of our high  
 " court, the noble MYRZA MAHOMMED ZEKIE, and also the great MA-  
 " HOMMED KHAN BEG, who by the sovereign favour is governor of  
 " GHILAN, do KNOW, that GEMAL BEG has by a petition represented,  
 " that according to a contract he has made with certain of his partners,  
 " who



“ who are now in ENGLAND, whatever goods or merchandize they might  
“ at any time send from ENGLAND, upon their arrival in GHILAN they  
“ should be opened in his presence, and 9 per cent. on their value should  
“ be paid to him : and whereas the officers of the RUSSIAN state have pro-  
“ hibited the merchandize to be brought before him, and the 9 per cent.  
“ to be paid; he requests that the people belonging to his partners lately  
“ arrived in GHILAN should without pro or con pay to him this proportion.

“ But whereas these people who have brought goods and merchandize  
“ hither, are strangers, and are come to this country on account of trade,  
“ and the proprietors not being present, we cannot absolutely determine  
“ this matter; therefore our royal decree is, that you summon GEMAL  
“ BEG and his partners, and hear and settle their affairs according to law  
“ and justice: let no hurt be done to him, nor at the same time any me-  
“ thod taken that may be injurious to the persons sent by the said mer-  
“ chants. Know this to be our pleasure, and conform thereto. Dated  
“ the last day of the month SHEUAL in the year 1158.”

It appeared from hence that ELTON had advanced the most palpable and absurd falsties, in assurance of success, founded in his interest with the SHAH : his judges also had no abilities to enter into the merits of the case, nor honesty enough to determine according to equity. After many circumstances too tedious to enumerate, the decree produced the delivery of the 42 bales of goods which ELTON had arrested. As for the accounts of former transactions and effects, he adjudged them as he pleased, and did much less injustice than he might have done; for he made returns in part to those to whom he was most deeply indebted.



## C H A P. XIV.

*The RUSSIAN court prohibits the BRITISH CASPIAN trade. The decree of the empress of RUSSIA on this occasion. The author's remarks on the letters of the RUSSIAN consul, on which the decree was founded.*

THE scene now began to close: the RUSSIAN ministry being persuaded that Mr. ELTON's conduct was of a dangerous tendency, the EMPRESS published a decree in November 1746, of which the following is a translation.

The decree of the empress of RUSSIA, interdicting the BRITISH trade over the CASPIAN sea.

“ THE ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary residing here on  
 “ the part of his majesty the king of GREAT BRITAIN, cannot be  
 “ ignorant in what manner the empire of RUSSIA has endeavoured to cul-  
 “ tivate and augment the friendship long subsisting with his majesty,  
 “ particularly by the treaty of commerce concluded between the two  
 “ crowns in the year 1734, which was renewed in the year 1742, at the  
 “ conclusion of the happy alliance. Her imperial majesty was desirous  
 “ to shew her good-will, by granting not only a free commerce to the  
 “ BRITISH merchants with her subjects over the whole empire without  
 “ any obstruction, but also through her dominions into PERSIA, which  
 “ till then had never been granted. As a proof of her imperial majesty's  
 “ affection to the BRITISH nation, in exclusion of all others, the duties  
 “ were mitigated, and many other privileges and immunities were agreed  
 “ to, that the trade to PERSIA might be the more easily conducted. It  
 “ is not necessary to mention the advantages granted to the merchants  
 “ concerned in that trade, the treaty of commerce sufficiently shows  
 “ them.

“ These privileges have been since augmented, for, at the request of  
 “ the BRITISH merchants, a permission was given them to have their  
 “ own ships on the CASPIAN sea, though this is not mentioned in the  
 “ treaty: but these indulgences have given room to entertain some ill-de-  
 “ signing



“ signing persons on the PERSIAN coast, who have shown themselves  
 “ disaffected to the empire, and have openly acted against the interest of it.  
 “ The person who has given occasion to this unexcepted proceeding, is  
 “ the well-known ELTON, who formerly was in this service as captain  
 “ in the ORENBURG expedition; and after his dismissal from it, when  
 “ the BRITISH merchants began to navigate the CASPIAN in their own  
 “ ships, he was engaged by those merchants, and sent with their ships  
 “ to PERSIA, where he was appointed their agent. The first step  
 “ which ELTON took was detrimental to the RUSSIAN consul and mer-  
 “ chants, for instead of an amicable intercourse with them, he fomented  
 “ animosities. Secondly, he treated with great inhumanity the RUSSIAN  
 “ mariners who were hired on board the ENGLISH ships, and refused to  
 “ pay them the full wages he had agreed for. Thirdly, he carried with  
 “ him contraband goods and materials in the said ships, from ASTRA-  
 “ CHAN. Fourthly, and what is the worst of all, he gave himself into  
 “ PERSIAN protection, engaged in that service, insinuated several projects  
 “ to the PERSIANS, and introduced some arts hitherto not known a-  
 “ mongst them, to the great detriment of this empire.

“ His excellency the embassador may thus plainly see how RUSSIA has  
 “ been rewarded for her indulgence granted to the BRITISH nation by  
 “ such an advantageous treaty. Notwithstanding all these circumstances,  
 “ the greatest moderation has been used on her part, in hopes that mat-  
 “ ters would be rectified. To this end, in the year 1743, the minister  
 “ and plenipotentiary Mr. WYCH, then residing here, was acquainted with  
 “ ELTON’s conduct; the RUSSIAN minister at LONDON, KNEZ SHEBBA-  
 “ TOVE, was also informed of the same, and his instructions concerning  
 “ them were often repeated: he represented these complaints against EL-  
 “ TON in the strongest manner, insisting that he should not only be re-  
 “ called from PERSIA, but obliged to make satisfaction for the excesses  
 “ he had committed: moreover, that this trade to PERSIA could not be  
 “ understood to exist, but as it might be carried on agreeably to the regu-  
 “ lations made here concerning it, and without prejudicing the subjects  
 “ of this empire: for as the trade was allowed out of mere good-will to



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“ the ENGLISH, and so many valuable privileges granted to their mer-  
 “ chants, it is not natural that it should be suffered, contrary to the in-  
 “ terest of the empire.

“ RUSSIA at length fees herself obliged to guard against such injurious  
 “ practices, by taking such measures as are absolutely necessary for the  
 “ preservation of her interest. In consequence of the many repeated  
 “ complaints made on this head by the RUSSIAN minister at LONDON;  
 “ lord TYRAWLEY, the ambassador then residing here, gave in answer to  
 “ this ministry, a memorial dated the 4th December 1744, setting forth,  
 “ that his majesty had ordered the merchants of the ENGLISH company  
 “ trading to PERSIA, not to consign any more of their goods to ELTON,  
 “ and to forbid his being any ways concerned in that company: also that  
 “ the merchants of their own accord would allow ELTON a pension of  
 “ 2000 rubles per annum during life, on condition of his returning from  
 “ PERSIA to ENGLAND, and that the king, upon ELTON's arrival in  
 “ ENGLAND, would grant him a post in the navy; concluding with a  
 “ request for a sufficient passport for him to travel through RUSSIA into  
 “ ENGLAND: the said passport was granted, and delivered to the embas-  
 “ sador at MOSCO, and immediately sent into PERSIA, together with let-  
 “ ters from the ENGLISH company to ELTON, and they were safely de-  
 “ livered to him by the RUSSIAN consul in PERSIA. But all this had no  
 “ effect; on the contrary, advices are since arrived from PERSIA, both  
 “ from the RUSSIAN resident and the consul in that country, that ELTON  
 “ was not only unwilling to go from thence, but had evaded lord TYRAW-  
 “ LEY's order, alledging that this order was given out at the same time  
 “ as the king of GREAT BRITAIN sent his recommendatory letter to the  
 “ PERSIAN SHAH, relating to the ENGLISH merchants trading in that  
 “ country; and that he had the SHAH's orders to take all ENGLISH mer-  
 “ chants and factors under his protection.

“ If this be fact, it has certainly encouraged ELTON to prolong his a-  
 “ bode in PERSIA; to push on the projects he has brought on the car-  
 “ pet; and to carry them into execution, to the great loss and detriment of  
 “ this empire. The RUSSIAN subjects residing in that country also com-  
 “ plain



“ plain that BLAIR, BROWN, and other ENGLISHMEN who have left that  
“ country, have been concerned in these projects: and lastly, that PRES-  
“ TON and others, who still remain there, have been instrumental to the  
“ same end. And these proceedings are still carried on with the same ill  
“ temper, of which the consul, general WOLFF, was acquainted in 1745;  
“ but since that time many more exorbitances have been committed,  
“ which can be clearly proved.

“ Not to mention the disorder and damage which ELTON, in con-  
“ junction with the PERSIANS, has created to the RUSSIAN merchants;  
“ his injurious designs have succeeded in part, and he is indefatigable in  
“ projecting new ones. To connive at these proceedings any longer, will  
“ be of very dangerous consequence.

“ All these vexations and inconveniencies arise from the trade this em-  
“ pire has permitted the BRITISH nation to carry on, and which never  
“ was granted to any nation before; and things being now come to this  
“ extremity, our patience and moderation can hold out no longer. No-  
“ body can in justice blame us to look back at the many complaints made  
“ to his BRITANNIC majesty's court at LONDON, and the hopes we en-  
“ tertained that proper measures would be taken to redress the grievances  
“ complained of: but it is now plain, that no other remedy is left than  
“ that RUSSIA shall immediately put a stop to the trade: her imperial  
“ majesty's interest, and the security of her empire obliges her to lay hold  
“ of the strongest, readiest, and most effectual method for this purpose.

“ In consideration however of the great friendship which her imperial  
“ majesty has always entertained for his majesty the king of GREAT BRI-  
“ TAIN, she wishes sincerely to maintain the treaty of commerce con-  
“ cluded with his majesty, in its whole extent, sacred and inviolable,  
“ without any alteration or abridgment, and to fulfil it in every respect  
“ to the end of the term stipulated; but there is now an absolute necessi-  
“ ty, not only to make an alteration in the trade permitted to the ENG-  
“ LISH nation to PERSIA, but to break it off intirely.

“ There-



“ Therefore, in consequence of her imperial majesty’s gracious order,  
 “ the same is made known to all those whom it may concern, and by  
 “ these presents to his excellency lord HINDFORD, the ambassador extra-  
 “ ordinary, to the end that he may be pleased to acquaint his court  
 “ therewith; and at the same time to assure his majesty in the strongest  
 “ manner, that her imperial majesty has been obliged to take this reso-  
 “ lution against her inclination: in all other cases her imperial majesty  
 “ will ever give the strongest marks of her friendship to the king and  
 “ nation of GREAT BRITAIN; and will endeavour by every means to in-  
 “ crease it. And to prevent all obstructions to the sincere intentions which  
 “ her imperial majesty has of maintaining a strict friendship and harmo-  
 “ ny between the two courts and nations; it is now become necessary  
 “ to put a stop to the evil practices of ELTON and his confederates, the  
 “ other subjects of GREAT BRITAIN, now in PERSIA.

“ Her imperial majesty is so far convinced of the friendship of the king  
 “ of GREAT BRITAIN, that she expects his majesty will neither approve  
 “ nor suffer those people to remain in PERSIA, but order, in the strictest  
 “ manner, that ELTON, together with the ENGLISH subjects there with  
 “ him, shall without fail, as soon as possible, remove from thence and  
 “ return to ENGLAND. May it also please the ambassador to acquaint  
 “ the ENGLISH merchants and members of the company trading to PER-  
 “ SIA, and residing in St. PETERSBURG, and in due time also those at  
 “ ASTRACHAN, that they shall not only forbear sending any more goods  
 “ to PERSIA, but use all their endeavours to settle and liquidate their ac-  
 “ counts with the subjects of PERSIA, and make the necessary prepara-  
 “ tions to withdraw their effects and servants without delay.

“ St. PETERSBURG, November 1746, signed

G. A. BESTUCHEFF RUMIN.

C. NICH. WORONZOFF.”

It was in vain for the merchants to complain of this edict, but in a  
 national way it became the duty of the BRITISH minister to remonstrate  
 against the violation of the treaty of commerce. My lord HINDFORD,  
 his majesty’s ambassador, knowing that I had been in PERSIA, desired me

to



to give in writing what I had to say in regard to the vindication of the BRITISH subjects. I complied the more readily with my lord's request, from the personal knowledge I had of the RUSSIAN consul, on whose letters great part of the complaints mentioned in this decree were founded. The reader will judge of the conduct and genius of this man, who from a common secretary and interpreter, did not content himself with less than ten led horses to make his public entrance into RESHD, as the EMPRESS's consul. He was born at CONSTANTINOPLE, and had contracted an inclination to the customs of ASIA: finding our trade ungrateful to his court, and unprofitable to himself, he over-acted his part, and was impatient till he had seen an end of it, which served to inflame the resentment of the court. He did not stop there, for his conduct exposed him to the complaints and resentments of the RUSSIAN merchants also, who, in less than two years afterwards, obtained his recall and disgrace.

By the following articles of defence it will be easy to judge of the nature of these complaints, which are mentioned in the decree in more general terms.

St. PETERSBURG, November 1746.

Remarks on several letters wrote in 1744, 1745, and 1746, by the RUSSIAN consul to his court.

I. I observe that the consul has a most extraordinary way of exaggerating; for it seems absurd that Mr. ELTON should attempt to hide what all the world might see, or to suppose the carpenters and seamen were his privy counsellors in secret affairs.

II. Whether Mr. ELTON is pushed on by his ambition or not, he may by his natural industry in a country where no pleasures can take off his attention, make some improvements.

III. 'Tis no unusual thing for the SHAH to flatter a man one day, and put him to death the next. I believe that NADIR's decrees, in relation to his marine, promise ELTON to protect him against his enemies; but I do not see that any conclusion can be drawn from thence to the prejudice of the RUSSIAN state.

IV.



IV. 'Tis possible RUSSIA in time may suffer damage, if the PERSIANS build any ships; but I much doubt if such ships can or will long exist: if ELTON had gone into GHILAN by way of GAMBROON or TURKEY, or found his way through RUSSIA, with a design of building ships, and without any employment from the ENGLISH merchants, could the ENGLISH trade in such case be made accountable for the conduct of a private man, who acts thus in a circumstance foreign to trade?

V. Notwithstanding the reports of the consul, I am morally certain, that the ENGLISH merchants and factors in general, or BROWN and PRESTON in particular, are not concerned in supporting ELTON, nor have any interest in the success of his schemes.

VI. 'Tis not to be imagined that ELTON builds ships for shew only; their being employed in carrying provisions in the manner which the consul mentions, ought not to be imputed to resentment, but considered as a natural consequence of their being built.

VII. In the summer 1745, Mr. JAMES BROWN carried with him to the PERSIAN camp, the king's letter to NADIR SHAH, dated February 2, 1744, desiring that justice might be done to his subjects; in consequence whereof, after great solicitation, Mr. BROWN obtained a decree for the payment of the money due to him from the provinces and governor in GHILAN; but nothing is more false and absurd, than that Mr. BROWN desired on that occasion to put himself under ELTON's protection. 'Tis notorious, by volumes of correspondence, that Mr. BROWN always avoided all sort of connexion with ELTON; nor in matters of trade had ELTON any sort of authority or preference which might create a dependance. As to Mr. BROWN's being ready to die in defence of ELTON's honour, I do not suppose the consul is serious; nor can I comprehend what he means by power given to ELTON over the other factors. But the consul's assertions are agreeable to that conduct which he has always observed towards us, rather provoking ELTON than endeavouring to bring him off from his pursuits.

VIII. How unfair and inconclusive are the consul's reasonings! because the merchants have not been successful in the repeal of ELTON, therefore they have not been sincere; and therefore they are yet allowing him



him a pension as the founder of the trade, while it is obvious that the measures which ELTON was pursuing, threatened the destruction of the trade. The consul insinuates that the ENGLISH would not make any figure in PERSIA but by ELTON's means: he is ignorant what figure our EAST INDIA company makes, and has made there; and what figure we make in every quarter of the world where our merchants carry on their commerce by sea.

IX. The consul has artfully played one BRITISH house against the other, with a view to ruin both. His conduct towards us, has been calculated to destroy that harmony which might have existed between the other BRITISH factors and the RUSSIANS, whatever consequences Mr. ELTON's conduct might have produced.

X. The RUSSIANS have formerly run old ships ashore on the western coast of the CASPIAN, with a view to break them up and sell the wood, fuel being extremely scarce in those parts; by this means the PERSIANS got as much timber as would build a new vessel: but what is this to the purpose, unless the consul would make us accountable for the conduct of the RUSSIAN subjects, as well as for ELTON's?

XI. If ELTON in the advice he gives the PERSIANS is steady and consistent, it is for his own purposes, and not for those of the trade. The matter therefore I apprehend is reduced to this point, whether the whole BRITISH nation is accountable to the RUSSIAN government for the conduct of one private person in PERSIA?

XII. I grant it was injudicious in ELTON to make the RUSSIAN ship strike to the PERSIAN. When I was on the CASPIAN we always paid the compliment to the RUSSIAN flag, thereby acknowledging the sovereignty of the EMPRESS.

XIII. As to the illegal commerce complained of, I have heard of a quantity of bar tin, which has been since reputed contraband, but it was not then included in the contraband articles, and was actually entered for PERSIA, and passed ASTRACHAN in a regular open manner.

XIV. I am morally certain that the RUSSIAN seamen were not ill treated; but, on the contrary, used with greater humanity than in their own ships.



The conclusion (article XV.) is, I think, extremely absurd: a report may be certain in the consul's sense; that is, it may be certain there is a report, when the thing reported is false, as this must needs be concerning the ENGLISH merchants settling a pension on ELTON to support him in PERSIA, instead of bringing him home from thence; and I humbly presume it would be very hard if a simple hear-say should be made a reason sufficient to annul an article in a treaty subsisting between two crowns.

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### C H A P. XV.

*Reflections on the foregoing transactions. Proposal made by the RUSSIA company, to exchange the EUROPEAN goods in PERSIA for raw silk already in RUSSIA. Danger of the company's effects in PERSIA. Letter upon the same subject. The BRITISH ambassador obtains orders for a ship, to secure the effects of the CASPIAN traders. Letter upon this occasion from the factors in St. PETERSBURG to the factors in GHILAN.*

THE prohibition of our trade was no matter of surprize to me, neither did I think it any great loss to the nation; having from a long and painful experience received very disadvantageous impressions of it. However, whilst there was any hopes of preserving it, I acted my part in the whole affair with the utmost assiduity and attention. It was apparent, from the situation of RUSSIA with regard to PERSIA at that time; from ELTON's rashness; and the jealous disposition of the RUSSIANS in general, that this trade was an unavoidable object of offence: the reader will also observe from the several facts related in my journal, that notwithstanding the reputed security of conveyance through the RUSSIAN dominions, great part of the way is exposed to the incursions of the TARTARS, and to the plunder of the RUSSIAN pirates on the VOLGA. Should foreign wars draw off the forces, or occasion any great diminution of the garrisons in those parts, the road could not be long safe: few years have passed without some particular accident; but we had to fear the ill designs of secret as well as open enemies; for whatever advantages might have been derived to the BRITISH or RUSSIAN nation at large, neither the



ARMENIAN nor RUSSIAN merchants could ever be intirely reconciled to us, whilst we received any considerable profit from it. Our business therefore was to make as good a retreat as possible.

HAHDGEE SEFFIE, the SHAH's merchant, whom I have already mentioned; after spending near a whole year in ASTRACHAN, at length arrived in MOSCO with about 200 bales of silk. It was natural to suppose, that his business was to make as speedy a return to his master as possible: therefore several members of the RUSSIA company, who had a glut of goods in PERSIA, could not but grasp at the least intimation of bartering them against raw silk in RUSSIA. The correspondence I had on this subject with one of my private employers, gave birth to a resolution of all the CASPIAN traders, in consequence whereof the following letter was addressed to the BRITISH consul.

" SIR,

St. PETERSBURG, February 25, 1747.

" **T**HE CASPIAN traders in LONDON having great quantities of effects in GHILAN, which cannot be sold yet for a considerable time, desire to barter them against raw silk now in RUSSIA. As the memorial prohibiting the BRITISH CASPIAN trade expresses an earnest desire that the same should be finished with all possible dispatch, we beg you will solicit a permission for the purpose above mentioned. The SHAH's commissary, HAHDGEE SEFFIE, being now in MOSCO with 200 bales of raw silk, and the RUSSIAN merchants not disposed to buy them on the terms demanded, we propose to make a barter with the commissary in behalf of our principals, whose orders we have received for that purpose: and in case the same is brought to effect, we will, upon the exportation of the raw silk from hence, pay to her imperial majesty's custom-house, the usual duty of 3 per cent. in dollars, on a valuation of 52 rubles per pood, the same as we pay at ASTRACHAN on our own imports. This we presume will be agreeable to the RUSSIAN merchants of MOSCO, and a singular benefit to the BRITISH merchants who are inclined to make this barter, and at the same time will greatly facilitate a compliance with her imperial majesty's decree:



" therefore we hope a permission will be granted us without loss of time,  
" in order that we may treat with the commissary.

" We are, SIR, &c."

However reasonable and consistent this proposition may appear, it was not relished; on the contrary, many objections were started. If the affair had been opened to the HAHDGEE, and he had consented to this barter, it would not have agreed with the plan which the court seemed to have laid down; for this new commercial scheme of NADIR SHAH was as ungrateful to the RUSSIAN government, as ELTON's naval achievements; and we had no hopes of any indulgence whilst the name of ELTON remained. It is also probable, that the RUSSIAN ministry foresaw the impending revolutions in PERSIA, and that they might have occasion to arrest the effects of the HAHDGEE, to indemnify the RUSSIAN subjects for losses they might sustain by plunder in that country; for this really happened not long after, and part of those effects were arrested accordingly.

Reports already prevailed, that fresh rebellions were formed in PERSIA, and the experience I had bought in that country alarmed my jealousy; for it was but too evident, that the PERSIANS were continually revolting, in spite of that prodigious success which had attended NADIR's arms, and in defiance of those acts of cruelty with which their rebellions had been punished. Thus the CASPIAN trade was indeed a trade militant, and attended with all the fears and cares of war; but as we were so far advanced in it, it behoved us to make as good a retreat as possible, especially as the RUSSIANS would not permit us to continue it any longer.

At this time<sup>i</sup> there was a report that the RUSSIAN merchants and subjects had quitted PERSIA; this was not unlikely, for the declining age of the SHAH, the rebellions in KHERMAN and GEORGIA, together with the universal misery and oppression which reigned throughout that kingdom, might be a sufficient inducement for them to retire to their own country. These considerations made great impressions on us, and this produced the following letter from our factors to his majesty's consul.

<sup>i</sup> June 1747.

" SIR,



" SIR,

St. PETERSBURG, July 24, 1747.

" **A** Ccording to the reports which now prevail, many of the provin-  
" ces in PERSIA are revolted; we have reason to apprehend that  
" GHILAN will follow the example, and the effects of our principals in  
" RESHD may be involved in the general confusion. We therefore en-  
" treat that you will obtain permission of the RUSSIAN government, for  
" the BRITISH factors in GHILAN to ship off for ASTRACHAN the cloth  
" and all other effects under their care, in case their apprehensions of  
" imminent danger from a rebellion, or other reasons which the necessity  
" of the times may suggest, should determine those factors to take this  
" means for the security of their persons and effects.

" For this end it is necessary that orders be sent to ASTRACHAN and  
" GHILAN, that these factors be assisted with one or two good RUSSIAN  
" ships, paying the freight thereof; and that all possible protection be  
" afforded them on the parts of the RUSSIAN ambassador, governor, con-  
" sul, &c. both in GHILAN and ASTRACHAN, till such time as they shall  
" find it safe to return to GHILAN, to finish the sale of their remaining  
" effects. Delays may be attended with the most dangerous consequen-  
" ces, nor will the case admit of waiting for orders from LONDON.

" We are, SIR, &c."

His majesty's consul being at that time indisposed; the contents of the letter were communicated to my lord HINDFORD, who was not ignorant of our danger; and with that care and assiduity with which his lordship always attended the commercial as well as military interest of this nation in RUSSIA, he presented a memorial to the great chancellor, and the very next day obtained an order for a ship to be sent from ASTRACHAN to GHILAN. Our fears were not ill grounded, for about this time NADIR, whose cruelty had rendered him the dread of ASIA, had suffered a violent death, and left his unhappy people exposed to those miseries which he had entailed upon them.

The necessary orders were dispatched to ASTRACHAN, and proper instructions given: in consequence hereof the factors in St. PETERSBURG  
received



received an answer from ASTRACHAN, and also from LONDON, in relation to the measures proposed for the safety of the effects. These circumstances occasioned the following letter from the factors in St. PETERSBURG to those in GHILAN.

"GENTLEMEN,

St. PETERSBURG, September 1747.

"YOU will find by the inclosed, that the proprietors in LONDON,  
" have given us a power of ordering and instructing you, in regard to their concerns under your care. The grand object of our attention at present is the security of their effects. We should be greatly concerned if you were constrained by a sense of immediate danger to ship off your EUROPEAN effects, but the plunder of them would be still a greater misfortune. The measures taken by Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON of ASTRACHAN are very agreeable to us; he has sent you a stout vessel to be used as a safe warehouse, or to bring off your effects; or in any other manner you shall think proper. You must be guided by the situation of affairs in that country. We flatter ourselves the danger is over, and that the revolution said to have taken place, will be attended with many happy consequences; and, by creating a circulation of money, the inhabitants will be delivered from their oppressions.

" We apprehend it is necessary to you as merchants, who have no minister from our own sovereign, to desire the protection of the throne, for the security of your effects, as well as for their more speedy sale. If there is a new king, and you think proper to pay him your compliments in form, attended with a present, according to the custom of the country, it will be agreeable to your principals; and we give you full power to act in this particular as you judge most expedient. We only recommend that you shew a proper regard to the unprosperous state of the affairs under your care.

" As Mr. ELTON's conduct has occasioned so much mischief and ill blood, we desire you, not only to avoid giving any offence to the RUSSIAN government, but to cultivate a perfect understanding with the ministers



“ ministers and officers of her imperial majesty. The regard which was  
 “ shewn you by the RUSSIAN embassador in GHILAN, is already a proof  
 “ that you act upon right principles, which your own experience will  
 “ corroborate.

“ The proprietors are impatient to finish the sale of their goods under  
 “ your care, in the best and most expeditious manner, and therefore they  
 “ hope that an offer of goods to the king of PERSIA, at an easy rate,  
 “ might engage him to take off a large parcel. Whether forcing a sale  
 “ can be effected in any satisfactory manner, we know not; but we give  
 “ you this intimation of their pleasure, that you may act according to  
 “ it: and we yet flatter ourselves, that the tedious disbursement, and heavy  
 “ charge attending this trade, will be compensated by the future returns.  
 “ We are, &c.”

## C H A P. XVI.

*Consequences of NADIR SHAH's death. The factors in PERSIA plundered of 80,000 l. Fresh disturbances in PERSIA. Letter upon this subject from the factors in GHILAN to the factors in St. PETERSBURG. Answer to the above letter. Letters from the factors in GHILAN to their employers in LONDON.*

NADIR was now cut off, and his nephew ALI KOULI KHAN seized upon the PERSIAN diadem, under the name of ADIL, or the just: he published his decrees and manifestoes in every quarter of the empire, complaining of the cruelty of his uncle, whose hands were so deeply stained with blood. He professed to begin his reign upon other principles, and instead of demanding fresh subsidies of the people, who were languishing in the extremest poverty, he remitted all taxes for a considerable time.

As no violent convulsion of the state immediately succeeded upon NADIR's death, and ALI had taken possession of the army and treasury without opposition, we could not but flatter ourselves that all was in a  
 state



state of security, and we rejoiced at the change of government, which promised a happy conclusion of our CASPIAN trade: but providence had a chastisement in reserve for us, as the reader will judge from an extract of the letter wrote by the BRITISH factors in GHILAN to the factors in St. PETERSBURG.

“GENTLEMEN,

RESHD, February 20, 1748.

“BY the last ship that sailed for ASTRACHAN in autumn, we had  
 “the honour to acquaint you in what manner an offer was made  
 “to us by the RUSSIAN minister, of the ship which Mr. GEORGE  
 “THOMPSON sent from ASTRACHAN. As it was impossible for us to  
 “ship the goods in so short a time as the RUSSIAN resident limited, and as  
 “accounts from all parts of this empire gave us to expect peace and tran-  
 “quility, we indulged ourselves in the hopes of an uninterrupted security.  
 “About two months ago we obtained a decree from ADIL SHAH, direct-  
 “ing the governor ACHMED KHAN to take the remainder of our de-  
 “mand of AGA HASAN, for the goods which they had forcibly taken  
 “from us sometime ago, on which about 6000 crowns are yet due. It was  
 “said that AGA HASAN and his adherents, represented to ADIL SHAH,  
 “that when the pretender SAUN<sup>i</sup>, threatened to possess himself of that  
 “place, they took so much of our effects to raise soldiers for its defence;  
 “and that the king had ordered the governor to satisfy the sufferers as  
 “far as 8000 out of his treasury: however we have not yet recovered  
 “any thing. After escaping a total destruction, in consequence of NA-  
 “DIR’s death, we thought ourselves extremely happy in being almost  
 “the only possessors of EUROPEAN commodities, with an increasing  
 “demand, and secure from any danger, SAUN being taken by AMUR  
 “ASLAN KHAN, and blinded.

“The latter end of December the new SHAH arrived in MASANDERAN<sup>k</sup>,  
 “ten days easy journey eastward from hence. We immediately felt the  
 “benefit of his approach, and had reason to expect great sales. Soon  
 “after his arrival, the SHAH sent for AMUR ASLAN KHAN, who was  
 “then at TAVRIS; but he excused himself, pretending to be sick: a

<sup>i</sup> He appeared in arms in SHIRVAN after NADIR’s death.  
 described in vol. I. chap. XLIII.

<sup>k</sup> At the palace of ASHEREFF,

“second



“ second message was sent to him to come as soon as possible; he then  
“ alledged that the country about SHIRVAN being in a rebellious disposi-  
“ tion, his presence with the troops was necessary: soon after two couriers  
“ went with presents to him from ADIL SHAH, pressing him to come  
“ with them; but instead of obeying the king’s orders he killed the cou-  
“ riers. It was reported that they had affronted the KHAN. The 15th  
“ of January a rumour was spread, that some troops were ordered hither,  
“ and it was then strongly suspected that AMUR ASLAN KHAN had de-  
“ clared against the king. We endeavoured to get to the bottom of the  
“ affair, and applied to KOULIFA, formerly the PERSIAN minister at the  
“ court of RUSSIA, who was then here: he told us he had indeed that  
“ day received intelligence that troops were coming this way, but if they  
“ entered this province, and were out of the jurisdiction of AMUR AS-  
“ LAN KHAN, he believed they would declare for the SHAH, and advised  
“ us to make ourselves easy; adding, that patience and a little time would  
“ bring all things to rights. However we applied to the RUSSIAN resi-  
“ dent, desiring a liberty to ship the most valuable of our effects on board  
“ the RUSSIAN vessels then in the port; he answered that we might get  
“ our MONEY ready to send on board, but as to GOODS he could not give  
“ us any room, having only two small snows; the ship which came to  
“ us in autumn being sent to BAKU; that he would dispatch a third vessel  
“ which was ready to sail for DERBEND, and order her to call at BAKU,  
“ with instructions for that ship to come to us immediately. The 19th  
“ of January in the night, we received certain information that a number  
“ of troops were on the road, and would arrive the next day, who gave  
“ out that they were going to the SHAH’s camp. Being thus alarmed we  
“ quitted our house, but for want of cattle to carry off all our money, we  
“ were obliged to send part of it to the resident’s quarters. Upon our  
“ arrival on board we were informed that 1700 men, under the com-  
“ mand of RIZA KOULI KHAN, had entered RESHD on the day we left  
“ it; and having sent for our warehouse-keeper demanded of him where  
“ our money was; he told them we had taken it with us, but this an-  
“ swer not being satisfactory, he was three several times beaten; he was  
“ also pricked with packing-needles, and threatened to be burnt, in hopes



“ of extorting a confession from him : but the KHAN perceiving that the  
 “ money was not to be found, except about 700 crowns, which this  
 “ servant had in his hands, ordered the soldiers to bring him goods, which  
 “ they did to about the number of 160 bales ; when they desired that no  
 “ more might be taken, as they had as much as they could carry off.  
 “ The next evening ACHMED KHAN, who was gone to LAHIJON, two  
 “ days before, and secretly carried away his valuable effects, returned  
 “ with a few soldiers, and about midnight attacked the rebels, but in so  
 “ shameful a manner that he was soon put to flight. This only served  
 “ to irritate them, inasmuch that orders were given to plunder and dis-  
 “ pose of all our effects<sup>k</sup>, which they accordingly did most effectually.  
 “ They sold a great value at the most scandalous prices, as raw silk at one  
 “ crown per batman<sup>l</sup>, begreft at two, three or four crowns per piece<sup>m</sup>,  
 “ and other goods in proportion ; by which means they readily found  
 “ buyers, who have either conveyed the goods out of the province, or  
 “ secreted them.

“ As soon as we were informed that the rebels had quitted the place  
 “ and marched for TAVRIS, and that forces were sent by ADIL SHAH in  
 “ pursuit of them, we returned to our house, which exhibited only naked  
 “ walls. We have applied to the people here to procure the restitution  
 “ of such goods as can be discovered, and they give us fair words, but  
 “ we have not been able to collect above 700 pieces.

“ The rebels are stopped at KESKAR by the peasants, and now surround-  
 “ ed by the king's troops : the forces which were sent by AMUR ASLAN  
 “ KHAN to their relief, have deserted, and come over to the SHAH's par-  
 “ ty. Upon this news we petitioned the SHAH's general to take care  
 “ of our affairs : he immediately desired one of us to come to him,  
 “ and Mr. VAN MIEROP accordingly set out yesterday. We hear these  
 “ rebels have made use of our goods as a breast-work, and to cover them  
 “ from the weather, so that we fear whatever is found will be of little  
 “ value.

<sup>k</sup> In value about 80,000 l.

<sup>l</sup> Six pence per pound of 16 ounces.

<sup>m</sup>  $\frac{1}{3}$  part of the value.



“ The only hopes we have at present are in the clemency and justice  
“ of the SHAH, to whom we shall apply as soon as affairs are settled.  
“ Thus, gentlemen; you see to what a miserable state your affairs are re-  
“ duced : we suspect that some people here have acted contrary to their  
“ professions, for it is certain they are now possessed of great quantities  
“ of our goods. The very INDIAN merchants, who are PAGANS, blush  
“ at the conduct of the CHRISTIANS ; but fear restrains us from saying  
“ more at present. It is highly probable, from many circumstances, that  
“ ACHMED KHAN, the governor of this place, was in the conspiracy.  
“ When RIZA KOULI KHAN, the commander of the rebels, heard that  
“ ACHMED KHAN was coming to attack him, he produced letters in  
“ the presence of our warehouse-keeper, wherein he said ACHMED KHAN  
“ had invited him, and declared that the end of his coming was not to  
“ make himself master of the province, but of the money and effects of  
“ the FRANKS, meaning us; and also of those of AGA MAHOMMED,  
“ the SHAH’s merchant.

“ The quantity of silk we have lost upon this occasion amounts to  
“ 18,000 crowns<sup>a</sup>. Our money still remains on board the ship ; for be-  
“ tween open enemies and false friends, we do not know where to trust  
“ ourselves, or it. God send us a happy deliverance from this scene of  
“ misery; and in expectation of your counsel and instructions we remain,  
“ GENTLEMEN, your most humble servants.”

“ P. S. We have received intelligence that the commander of the re-  
“ bels at KESKAR is taken, and his forces put to the sword; that  
“ the king’s troops have seized upon all the goods found in the hands  
“ of the rebels, which they have divided among themselves as spoil.”

We may here stop and contemplate this picture of PERSIAN frenzy and perfidious wickedness. These rebels dug up even the floors of the ENGLISH house at RESHD; and, as a humorous specimen of their havoc, threw a quantity of sugar into a well, that dispatch might be made in sweetning the water. Patience is a remedy of great efficacy: here

<sup>a</sup> Which would have produced 8500 great pounds.



seemed to be no other for the present, so that we may indulge reflection, and try to what account it will turn : it threw me on a thought which might be impertinent to mention if I had not heard it seriously maintained, that national gain may arise from the loss of private merchants, providing that loss is in our manufactures. In proof of this PROFOUND DOCTRINE it is alledged, that the labour for which the artificers have been paid, vastly exceeds the price of the original material ; and that if we get home so much as the original material is worth, the national interest receives no hurt. This is too deep a speculation for me, I confess, especially while I feel for my friends who suffer. I presume our riches arise from our labour as well as materials, and that the whole community suffers, in proportion to the calamities which happen to a part of it ; and the greater the part which suffers, the greater the misfortune. The good which may in this case happen to some, in consequence of a loss by affording occasion of a fresh employment, can never be an equivalent for the greater diminution of private stock, because private stock is, without doubt, a part of the national stock ; and that cannot be true of a particular loss, which, if general, would ruin our merchants, and consequently distress the nation. If the end of our labour is frustrated, how is it possible we can prosper, whilst that labour is acknowledged to be one great source from whence our riches flow ?

But to return to our history ; dreadful as this news was, the clemency of the new king seemed to promise us restitution, so that we flattered ourselves with the same success as we had obtained at ASTRABAD four years before : but it pleased providence to rebuke us for these sanguine expectations, which were hardly well formed, when news came that IBRAHIM MYRZA, the king's brother, was in rebellion.

The factors in St. PETERSBURG now made answer to the factors in GHILAN.

“ GENTLEMEN,

St. PETERSBURG, May 11, 1748.

“ **T**HE melancholy account of the situation of your house contained in your favour of the 20th of February, you may easily imagine  
“ gine



“ gine gives us the most sensible concern; but we flatter ourselves that the  
 “ loss will be made good to you, and that your prudent management  
 “ joined to the justice of your cause, can hardly fail of obtaining resti-  
 “ tution from the clemency of ADIL SHAH.

“ As you are the best judges what means to take for this end, we  
 “ therefore hope you have followed the dictates of your own reason and  
 “ experience; and we learn by the news of the 10th of March, that  
 “ you had a fair prospect of making this important recovery. The re-  
 “ volt, which was further suspected, being unknown to us in any cir-  
 “ cumstance, we cannot make any reflections on it. What the company  
 “ at home will determine, you will hear soon; but you must not hesitate  
 “ to act as the circumstances of the times may require. This unhappy  
 “ affair is the greater shock to us, as we had entertained the most fan-  
 “ guine hopes of your making large returns.

“ We are, GENTLEMEN, yours, &c.”

It is easy to conceive in what manner the CASPIAN traders in LONDON received the melancholy news of the total plunder of their factory in PERSIA; but the following letter from their factors in RESHD to their factors in St. PETERSBURG, afforded some consolation.

“ SIRS,

RESHD, April 4, 1748.

“ **A**S an ambassador from ADIL SHAH to the court of RUSSIA is go-  
 “ ing to ASTRACHAN, we embrace this opportunity to inform  
 “ you of what has occurred since our last.

“ In regard to the SHAH's orders for collecting our plundered goods  
 “ and returning them to us, nothing further has been executed; and the  
 “ small quantity mentioned to be delivered to us is not worth above 12  
 “ or 1400 crowns. ACHMED KHAN declares that he had delivered 470  
 “ pieces of our goods to the king's merchant, in lieu of his goods lost;  
 “ and the rest which he has collected being mostly damaged, he does not  
 “ think worth the delivery: the truth is, he has sold a great part of them,  
 “ and the remainder were given in payment of his own debts. In case

“ ADIL



“ ADIL SHAH should be pleased to pay us for the effects lost, we think  
 “ it not safe to keep the money here; to invest it in raw silk cannot be  
 “ done in less than three *racoltas*°, and to let it remain on ship-board in an  
 “ open road so long a time is also very dangerous; for these reasons we  
 “ think it best to send it to ASTRACHAN. But in this case a difficulty a-  
 “ rises, whether it will be suffered to return, as there is a prohibition to  
 “ export any money from RUSSIA. We have discoursed with the RUSSI-  
 “ AN resident on this subject, and he thinks our case very different from  
 “ that of exporting money, and makes no doubt but it will be permitted.

“ We cannot reasonably expect your answer before winter, therefore  
 “ we write to Mr. consul WOLFF, and the factors at St. PETERSBURG,  
 “ to give us immediate orders, which in the mean time we shall observe.

“ The collector of the customs, who arrived lately, informs us that  
 “ when he was in the camp he heard that the ministers were willing and  
 “ ready to accommodate our affairs, but that the success would be at-  
 “ tended with a great expence. In case the SHAH pays us in gold, it  
 “ will be difficult to get it exchanged for silver to purchase silk, and this  
 “ commodity is chiefly purchased with silver, and very little gold can be  
 “ put off that way. If he pays in silver, it will be difficult to get such  
 “ a sum exchanged for gold without giving an advance thereon; and  
 “ gold, as you will see hereunder, is the most profitable of the two, if  
 “ any of the merchants concerned chuse to have their returns in specie.  
 “ The gold currency of PERSIA is, viz.

“ Muker ducats current at 6 crowns<sup>p</sup>, weigh  $2 \frac{9}{24}$  *muscal*s<sup>q</sup>.

“ Lesser dittos - - -  $1 \frac{80}{100}$  - - - - -  $\frac{18}{24}$

“ Half crowns or rupies, fift denaers and abassies are in general pretty  
 “ equal at present, as few old ones which are more weighty now remain.”

<sup>p</sup> A mercantile term for the annual growth of certain productions.  
<sup>q</sup>  $6 \frac{3}{4}$  *muscal*s = 1 ounce troy.

<sup>p</sup> 1 crown weighs 5 *mus-*



## C H A P. XVII.

*The CASPIAN traders apply for his majesty's letter to ADIL SHAH. The king's letter to that prince. ADIL SHAH promises restitution, but is dethroned by his brother IBRAHIM. Letter from the factors in GHILAN to the factors in St. PETERSBURG, with a further account of the distraction of the times. ELTON escapes an assassination.*

UNDER these flattering expectations, the CASPIAN traders in LONDON, in hopes of strengthening their interest in PERSIA, petitioned his majesty. In this they set forth the deplorable state of their affairs, and that as no treaty of commerce existed between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and PERSIA, they had no protection but what arose from the immediate favour of the PERSIAN monarchs, which they prayed his majesty to procure for them. The king, ever ready to succour the distressed, granted them his letter, dated in June 1748, as follows.

“ GEORGE THE SECOND, by the grace of almighty God, creator of heaven and earth, KING of GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE and IRELAND,  
“ the most invincible and most mighty DEFENDER of the CHRISTIAN  
“ faith, &c.

“ To the SERENE, most POTENT, and most RENOWNED prince ADIL  
“ SHAH, king of PERSIA, MEDIA and ARMENIA, &c.

“ The most high exalted prince in ample honour and dignity, sends kind  
“ salutations and wishes of health and happiness.

“ MOST NOBLE AND MOST MIGHTY PRINCE,

“ WE have lately received with great pleasure, by the governor and  
“ company of our royal merchants trading to RUSSIA, and through  
“ RUSSIA to PERSIA, the welcome news of your happy accession to the  
“ throne of the PERSIAN empire. We could not defer sending you these  
“ our royal letters, to testify the particular joy and satisfaction with which  
“ we received the account of your serenity's elevation to that high degree  
“ of power and dignity; upon which we congratulate you in the most  
“ friendly



“ friendly and affectionate manner, and wish your serenity may enjoy it  
“ during the course of many years, with all happiness and prosperity.

“ Our said governor and company of our royal merchants having re-  
“ presented to us that they have received advices from their factors re-  
“ siding at RESHD; that in the month of January last a party of rebels  
“ had plundered them of all their goods and merchandize, both wool-  
“ len, as well as silk which they had provided as returns, to the amount  
“ of several hundred thousand mildenaers, and that they had but just  
“ time to escape with their lives, and part of what money they had by  
“ them, on board a vessel then riding at anchor in that port; they have  
“ therefore besought us to recommend this affair to you, and to desire  
“ that all restitution, justice, and ample satisfaction may be made to them,  
“ and likewise that you grant them your protection for their persons and  
“ effects from any insults or violations for the future.

“ We have thought fit to acquaint your serenity therewith, and de-  
“ fire that you will favour our merchants as abovementioned with your  
“ royal countenance and protection; not doubting but that your serenity  
“ will, upon the receipt of these our royal letters, cause justice to be  
“ done to our company and merchants.

“ Justice being the glory of princes, we can make no doubt of your  
“ serenity's ready compliance with this our request, especially as the trade  
“ carried on by our subjects in PERSIA, tends so highly to the mutual  
“ advantage of both nations, and requires some particular marks of your  
“ favour and support. And we hope, as our merchants are strangers in  
“ your empire, and place their intire dependance in your favour and pro-  
“ tection, your serenity will hear them favourably, and redress any griev-  
“ ances they may now represent, or at any time hereafter have just cause  
“ to lay before you. We rely on your royal favour and justice, and con-  
“ clude with repeating our wishes of health and true happiness to your  
“ serenity and royal family, &c.

“ Your affectionate friend. Sign'd G. R.”

This



This mark of his majesty's tender concern could not possibly produce any effect, for though ALI had many good qualities, he wanted those which were the most essential. Exalted with the notion of delivering PERSIA from tyranny, and receiving the crown as his reward; he abandoned himself to his favourite intoxicating gratifications of women and strong liquors; by which means he became an easy prey to the ambition of his brother IBRAHIM. After ALI had reigned about 12 months, IBRAHIM aspiring to the crown, collected a body of forces; and both armies meeting, ALI was taken prisoner and blinded; and the loss of his eyes threw a total darkness on the prospect which the CASPIAN traders had of the recovery of their loss from him.

This event banished the factors a second time from their house at RESHD to ENZELLE, where they might the more easily secure the poor remains of their plundered fortunes. From hence after acquainting the factors in St. PETERSBURG of the defeat of ADIL SHAH<sup>r</sup>, they wrote as follows.

"GENTLEMEN,

ENZELLE, June 1748.

"ON the 23d of May we retired to ENZELLE a second time, on the  
 "report of the arrival of a new governor on the part of IBRAHIM  
 "MYRZA<sup>r</sup>, with some troops. The second instant we received news  
 "from RESHD, that ASKERI KHAN, lately MYRZA ASKERI, was arriv-  
 "ed there with 180 men, with order to collect such monies as belonged  
 "to the crown and the great men. Our interpreter, whom we had pur-  
 "posely left in RESHD to see what passed, came to us, and brought a  
 "letter from ASKERI KHAN, in which he acquainted us that he was  
 "very sorry to hear of our losses and sufferings, and ready to do us all  
 "possible service: that he had a decree from IBRAHIM MYRZA, which  
 "he would deliver to us as soon as we came to town. On the 3d we re-  
 "turned an answer, and acknowledged our obligations for his profession  
 "of friendship, and that as soon as we had finished the business we were  
 "obliged to perform, we would wait on him; for we think it safest to

<sup>r</sup> The reader will remember that ALI KOULI KHAN took the name of ADIL.  
 took the name of SHAH, but only MYRZA or prince.

<sup>r</sup> He never



“ wait a few days and see how affairs are conducted by him.” They then recount the difficulties they labour under, in regard to the safety of their money, it appearing to be the chief aim of the RUSSIAN resident to oblige them to leave PERSIA with it; and continue thus. “ The 14th of May we visited the KHAN, who, after delivering IBRA-  
 “ HIM’S decree, assured us we had nothing to fear, and might depend  
 “ on his good-will. He then sent several merchants to look at the cloth  
 “ returned to us by MEHTI KOULI KHAN, and to agree for the price of  
 “ it. On the 11th<sup>1</sup> instant the resident came to town to fix his dwelling  
 “ at ENZELLE, and the next day he sent a letter to our THOMPSON  
 “ and WILDER, to acquaint them that he had received advice that 400  
 “ soldiers were sent by the KHAN to KISKAR, and desired them to con-  
 “ sider whether it would not be best to retire from the place; they answer-  
 “ ed that they would consider of the matter; upon which he expressed  
 “ his great concern for Mr. VAN MIEROP, who was at RESHD, adding  
 “ that if we had any bales or parcels to ship, we must do it immediate-  
 “ ly, for in case of a necessity to leave PERSIA, he should not otherwise  
 “ be able to give us any tonnage.

“ On the 17th Mr. VAN MIEROP returned from RESHD, and waited  
 “ on the resident. We desired of him that at least two chests containing  
 “ our money, might remain here until the departure of the last ship  
 “ from hence, and if we should then think it necessary to send it to AS-  
 “ TRACHAN, that we might have tonnage for it. It appears to us that  
 “ all possible methods are practised to frighten and induce us to send our  
 “ money and effects from hence, that the resident may be sole mas-  
 “ ter of the silk market; and if some favourable circumstance does not  
 “ encourage us to return to our house, it will be of very little conse-  
 “ quence to us who has the market, for were we to purchase silk we  
 “ know not where to trust it.

“ We are, &c.”

Whilst the BRITISH factors in GHILAN were thus complaining of their sufferings, the reader perhaps will be curious to know what became of

<sup>1</sup> June.

ELTON



ELTON during these revolutions. NADIR's death did not intirely quash his hopes; being personally known to ALI KOULI KHAN, he expected protection from him; and, contrary to the belief of his friends in EUROPE, he received assurances of being supported by that prince; from whom he also received a present. ALI, who began to court the friendship of RUSSIA, would hardly have pursued his uncle's design of building ships, knowing, if he knew any thing, that the RUSSIANS would never submit to its being brought to maturity. The peasants of GHILAN subscribed to it as little as the RUSSIANS; insomuch that upon the occasion of NADIR's death, they attempted to destroy ELTON, and a ball was actually shot through some part of his cloathing: but as he escaped the fate of his master NADIR, he survived ALI's fortune also; and the reputation of his abilities having reached IBRAHIM, this prince likewise assured him of his protection.

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C H A P. XVIII.

*The BRITISH factors in GHILAN return home. Their letter upon this occasion. They arrive at St. PETERSBURG. The whole amount of the CASPIAN trade from its first establishment.*

THE factors in PERSIA now thought it high time to look towards their native country, and as there was but little prospect of being serviceable to their principals, to provide for the security of their own persons, by removing from a scene of misery and distress. Mr. VAN MIEROP and Mr. CHARLES THOMPSON prepared to return home to EUROPE, for which purpose they had received instructions. Their letter to the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG best explains the nature of their circumstances at this time.

“ GENTLEMEN,

ENZELLE, September 23, 1748.

“ WE remained at ENZELLE till the 20th of July, and hearing that  
“ IBRAHIM MYRZA had sent for ASKERI KHAN under arrest;  
“ that a new governor was arrived, and RESHD become safer; we ven-



"tured to return home. We began then to buy filk, and to ship it off  
 "as fast as possible: the resident informed us that he intended to leave  
 "RESHD, with all the RUSSIAN ships on the 10th instant, and if we had  
 "any goods to ship, or intended to go to RUSSIA, we must be ready  
 "by that time. We desired of him, that in consideration of the amity  
 "between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, the subjects  
 "of the former being deeply interested, that a ship might remain here  
 "during the winter, for which we were ready to pay the freight. To  
 "this he answered, that without an order from his court he could not  
 "let any ships remain after the 10th of September. We are credibly in-  
 "formed that IBRAHIM MYRZA has caused the eyes of his brother, the  
 "late king, to be put out, and sent troops to attack AMUR ASLAN KHAN,  
 "making slow marches that way himself.

"On the 19th instant we went to ENZELLE, and desired the resident  
 "to grant tonnage for our filk on board of two ships, in order to di-  
 "vide the risk; but he answered, that he had reserved one for him-  
 "self and his friends, and the other for the consul and the trade, there-  
 "fore we must put all on board that ship. As we appeared determined  
 "rather to remain behind than leave our effects, he consented that this  
 "ship should remain till the 20th, provided we would be ready at that  
 "time, to which we agreed. About noon the governor of RESHD was  
 "taken under arrest, and his house plundered by two colonels and a par-  
 "ty, supposed to be in the interest of AMUR ASLAN KHAN. This cir-  
 "cumstance, joined to the distracted condition of the country in general,  
 "and the intended departure of all the ships for RUSSIA, induced us to  
 "send the money uninvested, by our MIEROP and THOMPSON.

"We are, &c."

Messieurs MIEROP and THOMPSON accordingly left PERSIA, leaving  
 their partner Mr. WILDER behind; they brought with them about 33,000  
 crowns value in raw filk, and as much more in gold and silver. The  
 month following they arrived in ASTRACHAN, but for want of a regular  
 correspondence on the part of the adventurers, it was the end of July  
 the next year before they arrived at St. PETERSBURG; and here they  
 were



were detained a whole year, on account of the jealousy of some of their principals.

Perhaps it may be imagined, that the intire amount of a trade in which above 150 persons were concerned, and in which the ballance of the account plundered was so very considerable, should be greater than we really find it.

The whole export of cloth and EUROPEAN goods, for account of the BRITISH CASPIAN traders, brought into PERSIA, cost as follows.

|            |             | crowns  |
|------------|-------------|---------|
| 1742       | 486 parcels | 170,000 |
| 1743       | 414 ditto   | 144,900 |
| 1744       | 299 ditto   | 102,650 |
| 1745       | value       | 252,942 |
| 1746       | ditto       | 20,000  |
| £. 174,398 |             | 689,592 |

The whole import of raw filk, according to the value in PERSIA.

|           |              | crowns  |
|-----------|--------------|---------|
| 1743      | - - - - -    | 120,000 |
| 1744      | - - - - -    | 50,000  |
| 1745      | - - - - -    | 62,000  |
| 1746      | - - - - -    | 50,500  |
| 1747      | - - - - -    | 13,000  |
| 1748      | - - - - -    | 12,000  |
| 1749      | - - - - -    | 33,000  |
|           | in money - - | 33,000  |
| £. 93,375 |              | 373,500 |

The price of raw filk rising much beyond its ordinary value, it may be easily calculated that the profits on this trade were very considerable, and equal to the risk, however great this may appear. A batman of SHERBAFF filk, containing 8 pounds of 24 ounces, being bought for about 16 crowns, the charges 34 per cent. till delivered for sale, brings it to about 15 s. 6 d. per pound; and such filk reached the price of 28 shillings<sup>u</sup>; consequently those who came early into this trade, or sent the most proper goods, may not have suffered very much.

<sup>u</sup> It may however be at 18 s. again, if we get a large supply from other countries.



## C H A P. XIX.

*Extract of the author's letter to a friend, exhibiting a summary view of the  
BRITISH CASPIAN trade from its establishment ; with remarks on the be-  
haviour of the RUSSIAN resident and subjects, to the BRITISH factors in  
GHILAN, on occasion of the plunder.*

I KNOW not how to give the reader an abridgment of this narrative, and at the same time explain the conclusion of the catastrophe, than by the following letter to a friend, the close of which, being the part most material to my present purpose, explains in what manner people are liable to be treated, even by their very good friends as well as their enemies ; and how particular circumstances may expose the subjects of any prince to the most unworthy usage.

“ SIR,

St. PETERSBURG, December 1749.

“ AS to the antiquity of the CASPIAN commerce, I never disco-  
“ vered that we had any trade over that sea, except a small trial  
“ made in the sixteenth century. To begin with the proper date of our  
“ late attempt, you must remember that his present majesty renewed a  
“ treaty of commerce with ANNA IVANOWNA in 1734, by which a li-  
“ berty of this trade is granted. You know that the parliament of GREAT  
“ BRITAIN passed an act in 1741, granting a liberty to such persons  
“ as are free of the RUSSIA company, to import the raw silk of PERSIA  
“ into GREAT BRITAIN, in return for BRITISH manufactures sold in  
“ PERSIA; in consequence whereof from 1741 to 1745, were sent  
“ 170,000 l. value into PERSIA.

“ In 1743, JOHN ELTON, one of our factors in PERSIA, engaged him-  
“ self as a ship-builder in the service of NADIR SHAH, which offended  
“ the RUSSIANS, and at length occasioned a decree of the RUSSIAN court,  
“ published in 1746, prohibiting this trade. The cruelties of NADIR  
“ SHAH had involved his people in such extreme misery, that hardly the  
“ most trivial sales could be made by the BRITISH factors in the north  
“ of PERSIA from 1744 to 1747: in June 1747 NADIR suffered a  
“ violent



“ violent death; his nephew ALI then mounted the throne, and trade  
“ instantly began to revive; but in January following, AMUR ASLAN  
“ KHAN, a cousin of NADIR, revolting from ALI, sent a body of his  
“ forces and pillaged the BRITISH factors in RESHD to the value of  
“ 80,000 l. ALI soon defeated those rebels, and declared his intentions  
“ to do us justice; but his brother IBRAHIM MYRZA also revolting, ALI  
“ was taken prisoner and blinded.

“ You must observe, that the sovereigns of RUSSIA having been mas-  
“ ters of GHILAN from 1722 to 1731, are still considered with a re-  
“ spectful regard, and the persons and houses of their ministers are usu-  
“ ally sacred to the inhabitants of that province. The good understand-  
“ ing between GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, and the repeated pro-  
“ mises of protection received from the RUSSIAN court, inclined our  
“ merchants at home and their factors in PERSIA to expect not only pro-  
“ tection and justice, but kindness and friendship from the RUSSIAN resi-  
“ dent and subjects in PERSIA. But the contrary happened; for I am  
“ well assured that several subjects of that empire were actually partners  
“ in the plunder, if receiving the stolen goods can make them such.

“ AMUR ASLAN KHAN having thus rebelled against ALI, this robbery  
“ might, in respect to the declared subjects of that prince, be deemed  
“ an hostile plunder only; but his taking the effects of strangers, who in  
“ confidence of the laws of hospitality came into PERSIA to trade, and  
“ neither provoked nor resisted, nor any ways opposed the invaders, makes  
“ this capture an absolute robbery; consequently the goods ought in jus-  
“ tice to be considered as stolen, and those who bought them as buying  
“ stolen goods. To buy such goods with a view to profit by the distress  
“ of him who is robbed, is certainly against all laws human and divine;  
“ and contrary to the friendship and alliance of the prince whose subjects  
“ are robbed, and of him whose subjects buy such stolen goods.

“ The passions of men in all countries betray them often into unwar-  
“ rantable excesses; but the civilized part of mankind have generally  
“ such impressions of moral duties, as seldom to violate their conscience  
“ without giving some marks of compunction. The RUSSIAN resident  
“ was



“ was so far afraid or ashamed, as to disown he had bought any of the  
“ goods; as did the other subjects of RUSSIA; but a great part of those  
“ goods I am assured were seen in their possession, and particularly in  
“ the resident's house: and when the factor Mr. VAN MIEROP, offered  
“ the RUSSIANS payment of the value they had given for these goods,  
“ they still alledged that they had not purchased any such.

“ The impressions which the honest part of the PERSIANS received  
“ from the violation of justice in taking these effects, appears by the con-  
“ duct of AGA MIR CASBINI, and his partner HAHDGEE MEHTIE.  
“ These men had made a profit of 400 crowns, on a purchase of some  
“ plundered cloth: the HAHDGEE declared against such gain, as contrary  
“ to reason and religion, and gave notice thereof to our factors, who in  
“ consideration of the great risk in transporting the goods to the place  
“ where they had been sold, divided the profits with him.

“ In what manner the spirit of christianity inspires the true professors  
“ thereof with the love of justice and humanity, beyond the doctrine of  
“ MAHOMMED, is very evident to real CHRISTIANS who have lived a-  
“ mongst MAHOMMEDANS: but neither the CHRISTIAN resident nor the  
“ CHRISTIAN merchants, in this instance acted in the same manner as  
“ HAHDGEE MEHTI.

“ You know, Sir, I was plundered at ASTRABAD in a rebellion against  
“ NADIR SHAH in 1744. The rebels carried the farce so far as to give  
“ me an obligation for the amount of the goods taken, promising pay-  
“ ment thereof; which plainly shewed they did not think they had any  
“ right to seize the goods of a stranger, because they rebelled against  
“ their sovereign; how much less can the purchase of the goods in ques-  
“ tion be warranted as legal?

“ The RUSSIAN court has seized PERSIAN effects in RUSSIA to in-  
“ demnify RUSSIAN merchants who lost effects by plunder in PERSIA.  
“ I am persuaded therefore that this court would not acquiesce in the  
“ conduct of her resident towards us. But the question is, if these in-  
“ juries done us by the resident and his people, were proved in a proper  
“ manner,



“ manner, which will require some skill and expence, for the RUSSI-  
 “ ANS, who are the proper and legal evidences, are accomplices, whe-  
 “ ther it would avail to obtain restitution? perhaps the resident might be  
 “ punished in a pecuniary way, without any benefit to us. Inquisitions  
 “ concerning great illegal gains are things very much out of fashion, e-  
 “ ven in limited monarchies, and where laws are said to be revered, and  
 “ the execution of them considered as bulwarks of property; I am a-  
 “ fraid you find it so. But you will please to observe, that I am told  
 “ also the purchase of the goods in question, and retaining them, not-  
 “ withstanding the value paid was offered to be returned, is a warrant-  
 “ able act, and that men have a right to make their fortune by such  
 “ means, when such a happy occasion offers. If those who might be  
 “ appointed our advocates in this affair should happen to be of this opi-  
 “ nion, a complaint would be over-balanced by a vexatious prosecution  
 “ to no purpose; but you are at liberty to take what measures you please.  
 “ I am sorry that it is not in my power to give you any relief; if it was,  
 “ I know my own opinion as well as inclination, and am very much,  
 “ SIR, yours, &c.”

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C H A P. XX.

SHAHROKH prevails over IBRAHIM. *The king writes to SHAHROKH SHAH.*  
*Distractions in PERSIA. Act of parliament to encourage the growth of*  
*silks in our AMERICAN plantations. A large supply of this commodity*  
*proposed from CHINA. Act for repealing the duties upon CHINA raw silk.*

THOUGH all the BRITISH factors except one had left GHILAN, the  
 CASPIAN traders did not abandon all hopes of the recovery of their  
 loss. The rebel AMUR ASLAN KHAN, the author of the unhappy plunder of  
 our factory, was soon after seized by IBRAHIM, on the western coast of the  
 CASPIAN, and put to death. In the mean time SHAHROKH was chosen  
 king at MESCHED, and supported by a very powerful party. This news  
 carried IBRAHIM back, but his fortune was soon reversed by the deser-  
 tion of his army, and his total defeat. Whether SHAHROKH was of the



blood royal is very hard to determine ; however he was received as such, and bid fair to establish himself on the throne of PERSIA ; therefore the CASPIAN traders thought proper again to petition the king for his letter, and his majesty was pleased, for the fourth time, to comply with their request, being about the month of January 1750 ; but as this letter, the change of name excepted, is almost verbatim what was wrote to ADIL SHAH, the reader will excuse my inserting it.

That no means should be left untried to obtain a recovery of the loss which the CASPIAN traders had sustained in PERSIA, the ENGLISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, on the behalf of their principals, united in sending a person of reputation, with orders to act in concert with Mr. RICHARD WILDER in PERSIA, intending to reconcile certain difficulties which had arisen among the adventurers, and apprehending that by gratifying both parties, there might be a coalition of interest ; and that this would be the best means of preserving that unanimity, without which a solicitation for the recovery would be attended with insuperable difficulties, should the PERSIANS discover any animosities, or even jealousies amongst the sufferers. With regard to their respective losses they had now but one common interest : but here again we had proof of the great want of regulations, and what perplexities commercial affairs in ASIA are subject to, if left free and open ; or with the appearance of a body corporate, without the substance of it.

Laws amongst CHRISTIANS in EUROPE, as I have already observed, differ extremely from MAHOMMEDAN governments, and the frequent violations of justice in practice amongst the latter, renders a more than common vigilance necessary to the good conduct of trade. In EUROPE every man has a right of claim according to the laws of the country he is in, such regard being had at the same time to private agreements, or the authority of the consul of his own nation, as has been found productive of the general good of the whole factory or community : but in ASIA there must be some regulations independent of the national government, or animosity and confusion inevitably ensue ; so at least we found it in the CASPIAN trade.

To



To wave this ungrateful part of our story, I must observe that the success the merchants had at ASTRABAD, the remembrance of the promise of ADIL SHAH, the assurance that PERSIA abounded in money, likewise that SHAHROKH was established in the government, inclined the factors and merchants to attempt a recovery at the risk of some expence; the antient laws of PERSIA also favoured this design: however Mr. CHAMBERLIN, who was charged with the king's letter last mentioned, found it unnecessary to proceed any farther than RUSSIA, PERSIA being still torn with intestine commotions: but nothing has been yet done, and it may be presumed that a great part of the INDIAN treasure is either carried out of PERSIA, or dissipated in such a manner as to leave no hopes of accomplishing any recovery.

These distractions having continued already for five years: the cultivation of raw silk in PERSIA has been also much neglected \*. Many other reasons concurred to raise the price of silk, to the prejudice of this nation. Under these circumstances the BRITISH parliament was induced to try if our own plantations could produce this valuable commodity, and accordingly an act was passed as follows, in the 23d year of his majesty's reign, being 1750.

“ An act for encouraging the culture of raw silk in his majesty's colonies  
“ or plantations in AMERICA.

“ **W**HEREAS it will greatly tend to the increase and improvement of  
“ the silk manufactures of this kingdom, to encourage the growth and  
“ culture of silk in his majesty's dominions in AMERICA; may it therefore please  
“ your majesty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the king's most ex-  
“ cellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and  
“ temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the autho-  
“ rity of the same, that from and after the 24th of June 1750, it shall and may be  
“ lawful to import any raw silks of the growth and culture of any of his majes-  
“ ty's colonies or plantations in AMERICA, directly from thence into the port of  
“ LONDON, without paying any subsidy, custom, imposition, or other duty what-

\* The ARMENIANS and RUSSIANS have for some years past imported hardly a tenth part of the usual quantity.



“foever for the fame; fo as a due entry be firft made thereof in the custom-houfe,  
“at the time of importation, and in the fame manner and form (exprefling the  
“package, marks, and numbers, together with the quantities and qualities of the  
“refpective goods) as was ufed and practifed before the making of this act; and  
“fo as the fame be landed in the prefence of, and examined by the proper offi-  
“cer or officers of the customs appointed for that purpofe; and fo as the fame be  
“imported in fhips or veffels, that may lawfully trade to his majefty’s plantati-  
“ons, manned as by law is required; and on failure of the faid conditions or di-  
“rections herein laft-mentioned, fuch filks fhall be liable to the payment of the  
“refpective duties, as if this act had never been made.

“Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforefaid, that  
“in order to intitule the importer and importers of raw filk, to the exemption in-  
“tended by this act, every merchant or other perfon or perfons whatfoever, who  
“fhall, after the 24th of June 1750, load any raw filk on board any fhip or  
“veffel, in any of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, fhall, before  
“the clearing out of the faid fhip or veffel from thence, make proof, on oath, be-  
“fore the collector and comptroller of the customs, and naval officer, at the port  
“or place where fuch raw filk fhall be put on board, or any two of them, that  
“the raw filk, which he, fhe, or they hath or have fhipped on board the faid  
“fhip or veffel (exprefling the quantity thereof) is bona fide of the growth and  
“culture of fome or one of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, ex-  
“prefling the parifh or place in fuch plantation where the fame was cultivated  
“and produced, and by whom, producing fuch perfon’s oath thereto made be-  
“fore the governor of fuch ifland or province, or before the next juftice of the  
“peace (which oath the faid governor or juftice of the peace, collector and comp-  
“troller of the customs, and naval officer, or any two of them, are hereby re-  
“quired and impowered to adminifter without fee or reward) and the mafter,  
“commander, or other perfon, taking charge of the fhip or veffel, on board  
“which fuch raw filk fhall be loaded, fhall alfo bring with him a certificate or  
“certificates from fuch collector and comptroller of the customs, and naval offi-  
“cer, or any two of them, as aforefaid, under their hands and feals of office  
“(which certificate or certificates, fuch collector and comptroller of the customs,  
“and naval officer, are hereby required and directed to grant without fee or re-  
“ward) exprefling the marks, number, tale, and weight of the raw filk, in each  
“bale, parcel, or other package whatfoever, fo fhipped or loaded on board fuch  
“fhip or veffel, with the names, place or places of abode of the exporter or ex-  
“porters thereof, from the faid BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA; and  
“the



“ the name or names, place or places of abode of such other person or persons,  
 “ who shall have sworn the goods therein mentioned to have been of the growth  
 “ and culture of the said BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA; and the  
 “ name or names of the person or persons to whom the same are consigned in the  
 “ port of LONDON; which certificate or certificates, the said master, commander,  
 “ or other person taking charge of such ship or vessel, shall, on his arrival in the  
 “ said port of LONDON, deliver to the collector, comptroller, or other chief of-  
 “ ficer of his majesty’s customs at the said port, at or before the entry of the said  
 “ raw silk; and at the same time shall make oath before any one of them the  
 “ said collector, comptroller, or chief officer of his majesty’s customs (who are  
 “ hereby required and impowered to administer the same without fee or reward)  
 “ that the said bales and parcels, and goods contained in such certificate, are the  
 “ same bales and parcels, and goods, as were taken on board in the said BRITISH  
 “ colonies or plantations in AMERICA; and if any raw silk of the growth and  
 “ culture of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, shall, after the said  
 “ 24th day of June 1750, be imported as herein before mentioned, without such  
 “ certificate signed and delivered as herein before required, and oath made as  
 “ before directed, by the master, commander, or other person taking charge of  
 “ the ship or vessel in which the same is imported; all such raw silks shall be li-  
 “ able to the payment of the respective duties, as if this act had never been  
 “ made; any thing herein before contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or  
 “ persons shall, from and after the said 24th day of June 1750, make, or cause  
 “ to be made, an entry or entries of any foreign raw silk under the name or  
 “ description of raw silk of the growth or culture of any of the BRITISH colo-  
 “ nies or plantations in AMERICA, or shall mix, or cause to be mixed, any fo-  
 “ reign raw silk with raw silk of the growth or culture of the BRITISH co-  
 “ lonies or plantations in AMERICA, with intent to evade the payment of the  
 “ duties payable on foreign raw silk, every person or persons so making, or  
 “ causing to be made, such entry or entries, or mixing, or causing such mix-  
 “ ture or mixtures to be made, shall forfeit and lose the sum of fifty pounds  
 “ for every such offence, and all such foreign raw silk; and in case of any mix-  
 “ ture, the quantity so mixed, both of foreign and BRITISH plantation culture  
 “ or growth, or the value thereof, together with the bales or other packages  
 “ containing the same, shall be forfeited, and shall and may be seized and prose-  
 “ cuted, or the value thereof be sued for by any officer or officers of his majes-  
 “ ty’s customs; one moiety of which penalties and forfeitures shall be to the use  
 “ of



“ of his majesty, his heirs, and successors, and the other moiety to him or them  
 “ that shall seize, prosecute, or sue for the same, in any of his majesty's courts  
 “ of record at WESTMINSTER.

“ Provided always, that if any doubt or dispute shall arise, whether the said  
 “ raw silk, or any part thereof, so to be imported as aforesaid, is of the growth  
 “ or culture of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, or of foreign  
 “ growth or culture, the onus probandi shall lie on the owner or claimer thereof,  
 “ and not on the informer or prosecutor; any law, custom, or usage to the con-  
 “ trary notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any action or  
 “ suit shall be commenced against any person or persons for any thing done in  
 “ pursuance of this act, the defendant or defendants, in such action or suit, may  
 “ plead the general issue, and give this act and the special matter in evidence at  
 “ any trial to be had thereupon, and that the same was done in pursuance and by  
 “ authority of this act: and if it shall appear so to have been done, then the ju-  
 “ ry shall find for the defendant or defendants; and if the plaintiff shall be non-  
 “ suited, or discontinue his action, after the defendant or defendants shall have  
 “ appeared, or if judgement shall be given upon any verdict or demurrer against  
 “ the plaintiff, the defendant or defendants shall and may recover treble costs,  
 “ and have the like remedy for the same, as defendants have in other cases by  
 “ law.”

Such was the encouragement given by the legislature, to the culture of raw silk in our AMERICAN colonies. An ample supply of this commodity however can be brought only from ASIA, unless we make some very extraordinary improvements. EUROPE during the last war did not produce the usual quantity, nor has the price of some particular kinds declined since that time: for I apprehend the consumption of this article rather encreases than diminishes. The EAST INDIA company therefore having, I presume, previously taken their measures, applied to parliament for an alteration of the duty of CHINA silk, the obtaining of which affords an encouragement to the importation of it<sup>\*</sup>; and no doubt we shall have a sufficient quantity. The act in favour of it in 1750 is as follows.

<sup>\*</sup> In 1752 we find accordingly a large supply of CHINA raw silk arrived.



“ An act for repealing the duties payable upon CHINA raw silk, and for  
 “ granting other duties in lieu thereof.

“ **W**HEREAS the duties now payable upon raw silk imported from CHINA  
 “ are a great discouragement to the importation thereof: and whereas a  
 “ a constant and plentiful supply of that valuable commodity to be manufactured  
 “ in this kingdom, will be a publick benefit, and greatly contribute to the in-  
 “ crease and improvement of the silk manufactures: therefore we, your majesty’s  
 “ most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of GREAT BRITAIN, being desirous  
 “ to promote and encourage the manufactures of this kingdom, do most humbly  
 “ beseech your majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king’s  
 “ most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritu-  
 “ al and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by  
 “ the authority of the same, that from and after the 24th of June 1750, the  
 “ several rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, now payable upon the impor-  
 “ tation of raw silk of the growth or produce of CHINA, by virtue of several acts  
 “ of parliament now in force, shall cease, determine, and be no longer paid.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the  
 “ said 24th of June, all raw silk imported from CHINA into this kingdom by the  
 “ united company of merchants of ENGLAND trading to the EAST INDIES, or by  
 “ any licence from the said company, shall, in lieu of the said rates, duties, sub-  
 “ sidies, and impositions, by this act repealed, as aforesaid, be charged with, and  
 “ pay the same rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, as are now charged up-  
 “ on, and payable for, raw silk of the growth or produce of ITALY; which said  
 “ rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, by this act granted, shall be paid by  
 “ the said united EAST INDIA company, at the same times, and in the same man-  
 “ ner, as the several rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, by this act repeal-  
 “ ed, as aforesaid, have been paid.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the several rates,  
 “ duties, subsidies, and impositions, by this act granted, shall be raised, levied,  
 “ collected, paid and applied, in such manner, and for the same purposes, as the  
 “ said several rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, by this act repealed, as  
 “ aforesaid, are now respectively raised, levied, collected, paid, and applied; and  
 “ all the provisions of or in any act or law now in force for raising, levying, col-  
 “ lecting, paying, and applying the rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions here-  
 “ by



“ by repealed, as aforesaid, shall be in full force, and shall be put in execution  
 “ for raising, levying, collecting, paying, and applying the rates, duties, sub-  
 “ dies, and impositions, by this act granted, as fully and effectually, to all in-  
 “ tents and purposes, as if the said provisions were particularly repeated and re-  
 “ enacted in the body of this present act.

“ And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that all raw  
 “ silk of the growth or produce of CHINA, imported after the said 24th of June,  
 “ shall, upon the exportation thereof from this kingdom, be intitled to and re-  
 “ ceive the same drawbacks and allowances only, as are now by law directed to  
 “ be paid upon the exportation of raw silk of the growth or produce of ITALY;  
 “ any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”

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## C H A P. XXI.

*Petition of the RUSSIA company to the parliament concerning PERSIAN silk to  
 be purchased in RUSSIA. Act obtained in consequence of this petition.  
 Remarks on this act. Reflections on industry and labour, and the pernicious  
 consequences of idleness. The fatal catastrophe of JOHN ELTON,  
 which finishes the history of the CASPIAN trade.*

THE RUSSIA company finding themselves thus excluded a branch  
 of trade, from which they had expected many private as well as  
 national benefits, applied their thoughts how best to repair this injury:  
 the most natural expedient was to obtain a liberty to buy the same com-  
 modity in RUSSIA, which they could not any longer provide in the north  
 of PERSIA, at least not to transport it through RUSSIA: they might in-  
 deed purchase silk in RUSSIA to transport to other countries, but an act  
 of parliament was necessary for the importation of it into ENGLAND.  
 Hitherto I have considered that part of the RUSSIA company which tra-  
 ded to GHILAN, under the name of CASPIAN traders; little now re-  
 mains of that commerce but a name: I will not however presume to al-  
 ter the title which these merchants gave themselves in the petition which  
 they now made to the parliament, for the purpose abovementioned.



“ The petition of the merchants of LONDON trading through RUSSIA  
“ into PERSIA.

“ Sheweth,

“ **T**HAT your petitioners did in the year 1741 obtain an act of  
“ parliament, to enable them to import PERSIAN raw filk by the  
“ way of RUSSIA from PERSIA, if purchased there with the produce of  
“ BRITISH woollens, and other manufactures. Your petitioners having,  
“ in consequence of the said act, sent into PERSIA about 200,000 l. value  
“ in BRITISH manufactures, and received part of their returns in PERSIAN  
“ raw filk, are now prevented by the many revolutions and fatalities which  
“ have happened in PERSIA since the commencement of this trade. O-  
“ ther accidents also have intervened to obstruct the design as at first  
“ proposed, his majesty not having any minister at the court of PERSIA,  
“ to protect our factors, his majesty’s subjects, and our effects in that  
“ country, which gives the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS very great advan-  
“ tage over us your petitioners.

“ And as the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS do bring large quantities of  
“ PERSIAN raw filk yearly into RUSSIA, which cannot be purchased by  
“ your petitioners to be sent into GREAT BRITAIN, the present act re-  
“ straining all imports of PERSIAN commodities but such as are in re-  
“ turn of goods actually sold in PERSIA; the raw filk in question is there-  
“ fore carried to HOLLAND by the ARMENIANS, and woollen goods taken  
“ of the UNITED PROVINCES in return.

“ Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that in order not to lose so  
“ valuable a branch of trade, as that of importing raw filk, a commo-  
“ dity at this time so much wanted, that a clause may be annexed to the  
“ bill now depending, relating to the importation of CHINA raw filk,  
“ to permit your petitioners to import PERSIAN raw filk from RUSSIA,  
“ subject to the same restrictions as they have done from PERSIA by the  
“ way of RUSSIA.

“ And your petitioners, &c.”



114 THE RUSSIA COMPANY OBTAIN LIBERTY TO Part I.

In consequence of this application the following separate act<sup>y</sup> was obtained, from which some happy effects may be felt as soon as the PERSIANS are in any capacity to send a supply of silk into RUSSIA: and this will probably be the case whenever PERSIA shall be restored to a state of tranquility.

“ An act for permitting raw silk of the growth of PERSIA, purchased in  
 “ RUSSIA, to be imported into this kingdom from any port or place  
 “ belonging to RUSSIA.

“ **W**HEREAS by an act made in the fourteenth year of his present majesty's reign (intituled, an act for opening a trade to and from PERSIA through RUSSIA) it is (amongst other things) enacted, that from and after the  
 “ 24th day of June 1741, it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or  
 “ persons, free, or to be free, of the fellowship of ENGLISH merchants for discovery  
 “ of new trades, commonly called the RUSSIA company, exclusive of all others, to  
 “ bring and import into this kingdom, in BRITISH built shipping, navigated according to law, from any port or place of or belonging to the czar or emperor  
 “ of RUSSIA, raw silk, or any other goods or commodities of the growth, produce or manufacture of PERSIA (provided such manufacture be made of the  
 “ growth or produce of PERSIA) being purchased by barter with woollen, or other manufactures, goods or commodities, exported from GREAT BRITAIN to  
 “ RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA (gold and silver in coin or bullion excepted) or with the produce arising from the sales of such manufactures, goods, or commodities, so exported to RUSSIA, and carried into PERSIA, as  
 “ aforesaid, and not otherwise: and it is by the said act also further enacted, that  
 “ no silk, or other produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, shall be  
 “ imported into GREAT BRITAIN through RUSSIA, by virtue of the said act, unless the importer or importers thereof do take an oath, or (being of the people  
 “ called QUAKERS) a solemn affirmation, before the collector, customer, or comptroller of his majesty's customs (who are by the said act impowered to administer  
 “ the same) at the port or place of importation, that, to the best of his or their  
 “ knowledge and belief, the silk, and other the produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, contained in his or their entry or entries, was or were really  
 “ and truly purchased by barter with woollen, or other manufactures, goods, or  
 “ commodities, exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, and from thence car-

<sup>y</sup> In 1750, 23d year of his majesty's reign.



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“ ried into PERSIA (not being gold or silver in coin or bullion) or with the produce  
“ arising from the sales of such woollen, or other manufactures, goods, or com-  
“ modities, so exported as aforesaid, and not otherwise; and that in default of tak-  
“ ing such oath or affirmation, all such silk, or other the produce, commodities,  
“ or manufactures of PERSIA, so imported from RUSSIA, shall be liable to be seiz-  
“ ed and forfeited, in like manner, as if the same had been imported contrary to  
“ the act made in the twelfth year of the reign of king CHARLES the second, inti-  
“ tuled, an act for encouraging and encreasing of shipping and navigation: and  
“ whereas, soon after the commencement of the said act made in the fourteenth  
“ year of his present majesty's reign, a very beneficial trade between GREAT BRI-  
“ TAIN and PERSIA, through RUSSIA, was opened, by means whereof great quan-  
“ tities of raw silk, and other the goods and commodities, of the growth, pro-  
“ duce, or manufacture of PERSIA, were imported into this kingdom, in return  
“ for the woollen and other manufactures, goods, and commodities of GREAT  
“ BRITAIN, upon much easier and more advantageous terms than such silk, and  
“ other goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of PER-  
“ SIA could have been otherwise procured: but whereas the said trade between  
“ GREAT BRITAIN and PERSIA, through RUSSIA, hath been, for some time past,  
“ interrupted, the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN not having been of late permitted  
“ to transport BRITISH manufactures, goods, and commodities into PERSIA,  
“ through the dominions or territories of or belonging to the empire of RUSSIA,  
“ in consequence whereof the importation of raw silk, and other commodities of  
“ the growth, produce, or manufacture of PERSIA, from RUSSIA, hath been dis-  
“ continued: and whereas it would be of great advantage to the trade of this  
“ kingdom in general, as well as contribute to the increase and improvement of  
“ the silk manufactures in particular, if raw silk of the growth or produce of  
“ PERSIA, purchased in RUSSIA, were permitted to be imported from any of the  
“ countries, dominions, or territories of the empire of RUSSIA, in return for  
“ woollen and other manufactures exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, al-  
“ though the same be not carried from thence into PERSIA; may it therefore please  
“ your majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's most ex-  
“ cellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and  
“ temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the au-  
“ thority of the same, that from and after the 24th day of December 1750, it  
“ shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons, free or to be free, of  
“ the said fellowship of ENGLISH merchants for discovery of new trades, common-  
“ ly called, the RUSSIA company, exclusive of all others, to bring and import in-



“ to this kingdom, in BRITISH built shipping, navigated according to law, from  
 “ any port or place within the countries, territories, or dominions of or belong-  
 “ ing to the empire of RUSSIA, raw silk of the growth or produce of PERSIA,  
 “ which shall be purchased by barter with woollen or other manufactures, goods,  
 “ or commodities exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, although the same  
 “ be not carried from thence into PERSIA, (gold and silver in coin or bullion ex-  
 “ cepted) or with the produce arising from the sale of such manufactures, goods,  
 “ or commodities, exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA as aforesaid, and not  
 “ otherwise, upon paying, or securing to be paid, the customs and other duties  
 “ now payable for the same, by any law now in force, according to such rules,  
 “ methods, and directions, and in the same manner and form, and with such al-  
 “ lowances, abatements, discounts, and drawbacks, and under such penalties,  
 “ forfeitures, and disabilities, as are by law prescribed and practised, on the im-  
 “ portation of raw silk of the growth or produce of PERSIA, imported into this  
 “ kingdom from any port or place in the LEVANT seas, by any person or persons  
 “ free of the LEVANT or TURKEY company; any thing in the said act made in the  
 “ fourteenth year of his present majesty's reign, or in the said act made in the  
 “ twelfth year of the reign of king CHARLES the second, intituled, an act for en-  
 “ couraging and increasing of shipping and navigation, to the contrary notwith-  
 “ standing.

“ Provided always, and be it further enacted, that no silk, of the growth or  
 “ produce of PERSIA, shall be imported into GREAT BRITAIN, from any of the  
 “ countries, dominions, or territories of or belonging to the empire of RUSSIA,  
 “ by virtue of this act, unless the importer or importers thereof do make oath,  
 “ before the collector, customer, or comptroller of his majesty's customs, (who are  
 “ hereby empowered and required to administer such oath) at the port or place of  
 “ importation, that to the best of his or their knowledge and belief, the silk con-  
 “ tained in his or their entry or entries was really and truly purchased by barter  
 “ with woollen or other manufactures, goods, or commodities, exported from  
 “ GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, (not being gold or silver in coin or bullion) or with  
 “ the produce arising from the sale of such woollen, or other manufactures, goods,  
 “ or commodities, so exported as aforesaid, and not otherwise; and in default of  
 “ making such oath, all such silk so imported from any of the countries, domi-  
 “ nions, or territories of or belonging to the empire of RUSSIA, shall be liable to  
 “ be seized and forfeited, in like manner as if the same had been imported con-  
 “ trary to the said act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of king CHARLES  
 “ the



Chap. XXI. IMPORT PERSIAN SILK BOUGHT IN RUSSIA. 117

“ the second, intituled, an act for encouraging and increasfing of shipping and  
“ navigation.

“ Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to  
“ extend, to deprive the corporation of the united company of merchants of  
“ ENGLAND trading to the EAST INDIES, of any of the powers, privileges, fran-  
“ chises, and benefits which do or shall belong to them, or which they could or  
“ might have had and enjoyed in any manner whatsoever, if this act had not been  
“ made; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted, that this act shall be deemed a publick act, and  
“ shall be judicially taken notice of as such by all judges, justices, and other  
“ persons whatsoever, without specially pleading the same.”

I presume it is meant by this act to restrain all purchases of filk in RUS-  
SIA to the produce of PERSIA only, for the words of the act allow no  
more: but filk of the growth of GREECE is sometimes brought through  
VALACHIA into the UKRAINE, and from thence transported to St. PETERS-  
BURG, but the quality does not answer. It may be necessary to observe  
that this act has been explained to mean filk purchased with the produce  
of BRITISH manufactures at large; for in barter, or with the identical  
money received for such goods, it is hardly possible. This act will very  
much favour the ARMENIANS, for besides the encouragement they had  
to bring filk from PERSIA into RUSSIA, either to transport into HOLLAND  
for their own account, or to sell it in RUSSIA: they may now dispose of  
it also in ENGLAND, and by being naturalized, may also import such filk  
into this kingdom for their own account, as one of them has already done.  
The advantages this bill is calculated to produce are many, for whoever  
receives the profit of the first sale, the more there is brought to market  
the cheaper it must be to us.

The benefits of the filk manufactory must ever appear considerable  
even upon the most superficial view, when it is considered that a pound  
of 16 ounces of the plainest manufactured filk is commonly worth 35  
or 40 shillings, and that rich filks increase in proportion to the greater  
labour which is bestowed on them. The great pound of 24 ounces,  
costing 21 shillings; the small pound is 14 shillings: let us now see what  
profit



profit arises from it, and how much it increases in value, as it passes through the hands of the several workmen; and here the charge only of throwing the small pound is 5 s, dying, grain colours included, on a medium is 2 s, and winding, weaving, &c. 10 s. so that allowing 1 s. for the dying materials, the nation gains 16 s, at least on every pound of silk manufactured here and exported abroad, and in some articles much more. To instance only in one particular, a pair of silk gauze stockings weighs about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of silk, which computed as above, is 2 s. 2 d. and 20 per cent. breakage, and other contingencies on the silk is less than 3 s. and yet the stockings sell for 9, 10, or 12 s. Thus this beneficial branch of commerce gives a subsistence to the industrious artificer, and enriches the nation.

Labour is the parent of wealth, and the nurse of happiness: not only our riches, but our safety, our liberty, and all our domestic joys are founded on this basis; it gives strength and vigour to the individual, and renders the state firm, prosperous and flourishing. The most necessary productions of the earth are not spontaneous; our very mines of lead, tin and coal, demand the assistance of the laborious hand. Happy were it for us if we had more of the diligent and laborious, and fewer of the idle, especially in the lower class, who are still greater prodigies in nature than those, who because they are born to the enjoyment of wealth, give themselves up to a state of indolence and dull inactivity. If a life spent in generous and beneficent actions is the glory and honour of human nature, the community of which we are a part, certainly ought to partake of that generosity and beneficence. Where is the boasted superiority of a large fortune if this great end is neglected? and how can this end be so effectually answered, as by employing the poor? This may sometimes be difficult in regard to things of real use, but such as are calculated merely for employment can never be wanting: thus no one object will be distressed, nor human nature disgraced by the pernicious consequences of idleness.

Before I finish this account of the CASPIAN commerce, I must pay my tribute to the memory of him who was a chief instrument in giving it a birth, and consequently afforded, during the course of fourteen years,  
an



an occasion of those various scenes which the judicious reader may figure to himself, even beyond those which these papers represent. In the course of this narrative I take it for granted that I have given several indications of the common weakness of mankind, I mean a resentment of injuries: ELTON had many faults, but we ought to remember, that as no character is without vice, there is none without a mixture of virtue also; that this virtue might often be called forth to action, and eradicate its mixture of evil qualities, if instead of corroding we endeavoured to heal the wounds in our neighbour's good name. Human virtue stands on a tottering foundation, and subject to be blown down by every gust of passion; and it is an established maxim that those are in most danger of falling, who triumph most in their strength. When we come to sum up the amount of all the various contests among men, we must allow this to an admonition of the soundest philosophy and most divine religion; "Remember thy end, and let enmity cease." To court that which is ungrateful to us, or to fly from what we love, are hard lessons; but in many cases they are essential to our happiness: and this we are sure of, that the forgiveness of injuries is the condition of divine mercy.

The desire of a good name after death is a great incentive to virtuous actions, and the fear of infamy must necessarily be a restraint upon us in our commerce with the world. As the dead cannot vindicate their own cause, men of sentiments will therefore be tender of exhibiting the dark side of the character of those persons who are now no more; yet, for the reason I have just given, I think there is more humanity than sound reason in the maxim, "that we should NEVER speak ill of the dead."

Mr. ELTON is dead, and I hope his sufferings will atone for the errors of his life. The curious reader will now be inquisitive if in a country rent with civil wars, where the son is tearing out the entrails of his father, a man of ELTON's enterprising genius could make his exit in a natural way? After the destruction of NADIR, and his successors ADIL SHAH, IBRAHIM MYRZA, and other pretenders to the diadem, ELTON still supported himself. The PERSIANS at length having no king whom the people thought proper to obey, the elders of GHILAN took the people under their care, in form of an aristocracy: it fell to the lot of HAHDGEE SEFFIE, the  
same



same man who was NADIR's agent in RUSSIA for commercial affairs, and HAHDGEE GEMAL, to be ruling lords. This province was not considerable enough to support itself long; however they levied forces, and determined to oppose the invader MAHOMMED HASSAN<sup>2</sup> KHAN. Mr. ELTON, who it is presumed had a correspondence with this KHAN, refused submission to the two elders, of whose good-will towards him he had reason to be distrustful; finding also that MAHOMMED HASSAN was coming to his relief, he determined, after the example of CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN, at BENDER, to garrison his house and stand a siege: he had indeed a better situation for defence, and a weaker enemy than the king, but not strength sufficient to hold out long; he therefore capitulated with HAHDGEE GEMAL for the safety of his person and effects, but the HAHDGEE, like a genuine PERSIAN, regardless of his word, seized ELTON's effects; and to compleat the villany, condemned him to be hanged. They were leading him to execution when news arrived that SAUN BEG, one of the chief captains of the elder's army, was gone over with all the forces under him, to MAHOMMED HASSAN KHAN; this brought every thing into confusion on the part of the elders, who were themselves obliged to fly; but they carried ELTON along with them to FOMIN. It was thought that this change of affairs would create some commiseration in the breast of the elders, but they who had been such villains as to commit a breach of faith in the capitulation, were now fired with resentment, which it is probable was increased by those who dreaded ELTON's genius and capacity; at least 'tis certain he became a sacrifice, and in April 1751 was shot to death. Both the HAHDGEES fell afterwards into the hands of the conqueror MAHOMMED HASSAN KHAN, who resented ELTON's death so highly, as to threaten them with the same fate.

Thus fell the man whose life had been a continued scene of adventures, but in nothing so important as the share he had in renewing, I might say opening this trade, so remarkable in all its parts, and attended with such a variety of incidents.

<sup>2</sup> This is the same name as that of the chief of the rebellion of ASTRABAD in 1744, and I believe is the same person.



P A R T II.

A

S U C C I N C T V I E W

O F T H E

BRITISH TRADE AND FACTORY, ALSO  
OF THE RUSSIAN COURT AT ST.  
PETERSBURG.

C H A P. XXII.

*Remarks on the profession of a merchant in general. A succinct view of the BRITISH factory and trade of St. PETERSBURG, with reflections on the want of industry. Of the coins, weights and measures in RUSSIA.*

**T**HOUGH it is common for mankind to look on the commercial intercourse of the world, in no other light than as an employment calculated for the support of life, or a means of amassing wealth; yet if we extend our thoughts a little farther, and take in the numerous connections and dependencies arising from that intercourse, either at home or abroad, we may easily discover that it deserves a high degree of respect, since it tends to promote all the pleasures of humanity: and probably from hence it was, that merchants were called THE HONOURABLE OF THE EARTH, when nations were much more ignorant of each other than they are at present.

It is true every day's experience proves how dangerous an object money is, because we see it so often employed more as the instrument of vice and immorality than of virtue and true pleasure; when instead of having a rational esteem for it, as the means of good, we suffer it to creep



into the heart and spoil the morals. But without entering into the evils arising from an inordinate love of money, the merchant whose mind is strong enough to pursue gain without indulging any anxious fears, and without forgetting the more essential duties of life, is in a happy employment, was it only for this reason, that there are but few callings so free and independent. "Guilt indeed sticks very close to buying and selling, as close as the nail which is driven between two stones;" so it was thought by a very wise man about two thousand years ago, and I am afraid the case is not altered for the better. I have heard that the GREEK states of old were sensible of this, and excluded merchants from all public employments<sup>a</sup>, upon a supposition that their profession was not consistent with that dignity and inflexible integrity which they thought essential to the character of a magistrate. Perhaps the general corruption of manners in after-ages, might have at length determined those states to admit of merchants in common with men of other professions. Every condition of life is exposed to temptations peculiar to it, and I think it is more easy for a merchant religiously to observe the laws of justice, than for a soldier, whose duty bids him spill another man's blood, to pursue without anger or revenge, and to kill without cruelty; or for a lawyer to forsake the glittering fee, and procure a dispatch of the cause of his client at the hazard of his own support.

It is a common observation that people are to be known only by social intercourse, and indeed it ought in all reason to be presumed that this is the best means of arriving to a real knowledge of characters, and of learning how far persons may be mentioned with honour, without deviating from truth: but on the other hand it is perhaps one of the most difficult tasks to be intirely impartial with respect to those with whom we have supported a good correspondence for a course of years. Prejudices will naturally arise in the mind, and some of these are rather amiable than odious. These general remarks may serve as a preface to the mention I am going to make concerning some of my particular friends. The BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG are generally well esteemed by

<sup>a</sup> Aristot. polit.



the natives of RUSSIA, and acquire fortunes which some of them of late years have been wise enough to preserve. They inhabit the best houses on the banks of the NEVA, and are hospitable, not to say magnificent in their way of life, keeping pace with the luxury of men of superior fortunes at home; but the reader who has not been abroad, must observe that the BRITISH factories in general make a better figure than those of any other nation, which may be considered as a sort of compensation for the voluntary banishment which they suffer from the best of countries in the world. This indeed may sometimes be a means of prolonging that banishment, and of creating a fondness to a foreign country, in prejudice of the love which they ought to have for their own; however this generous way of life gives them an influence and ascendancy in the countries where they reside, and helps to support the national interest and honour.

The BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, as may be observed in all small societies, contribute much to each other's amusement, and are now become sober and virtuous, as well as more elegant in manners than in times past, when they were debauched and low in their pleasures; and though calumny and detraction seem to be the more peculiar growth of such societies, it does not reign amongst them in any remarkable degree: the clashing of interests, and the corruption of manners, which the pecuniary affairs of the world generally create, is very apt to exclude the pleasures of friendship, pleasures which cannot be bought with gold. I thank providence it was my fortune in RUSSIA to enjoy these also, in my much honoured friend Mr. GEORGE PETERS, one of the most considerable factors in that city.

I shall now make a few general remarks in regard to the commercial interest of RUSSIA. The productions of the earth, and foreign trade are acknowledged to be the great sources from whence the riches of every nation proceed: RUSSIA has made great strides in the improvement of her commerce for several years past, enjoying some advantages beyond any other nation: the number and greatness of her rivers open a communication almost to every part of the globe, but particularly within her own extended dominions.



nions. As to timber, hemp, and iron, which are the instrumental causes of trade; no country in the world produces a greater quantity, which is a natural consequence of the cheapness of land and labour: the former of these GREAT BRITAIN enjoys in her AMERICAN dominions, though not the latter; but if we have occasion for the commodities of RUSSIA, that empire has the great source of her revenues in the trade which this island carries on with her subjects.

Hemp, which 20 years since was hardly worth five rubles the BERQUEVITZ<sup>a</sup>, of late years has been about twice that value; the increase of silver makes money every year less valuable: as they can afford this article in St. PETERSBURG at 6 or 7 rubles, they will certainly bring enough of it to market so long as they can obtain 8 or 9. Iron is also a very improveable article; they have both wood, hands and oar in SIBERIA sufficient to make a quantity, which would depreciate the value of the SWEDISH iron, raise their rivalry and competition with the SWEDES<sup>b</sup> in this important article of the revenues of that nation, and at the same time greatly augment those of the RUSSIAN empire. But by a certain fatality which prevails in every country in some instance or other, the RUSSIAN government for a course of years has preferred a profit of about 15,000 l. on 5000 tuns, to near twice that advantage which they might have had to all appearance, though the price should have been reduced, had the quantity been more than doubly augmented. The great difficulty was, in whose hands to lodge an increase of power in that distant country, SIBERIA. It is not 40 years since the RUSSIANS began to open iron mines, and yet in the year 1750 they exported 20,000 tuns: the ordinary annual export may now be called 12 or 15,000 tuns, which is so much more in favour of the RUSSIANS, as the SWEDISH forges, for these few years past, have not produced so much by one third as formerly.

The encouragement given to our AMERICAN colonies in regard to iron, has produced some good effects, the quantity of pig iron imported from thence being increased; and as there is no want in that country of oar or

<sup>a</sup> Or 6 l. per tun first cost in St. PETERSBURG.

<sup>b</sup> The question is, whether with regard to the ballance of power in the north, the SWEDES are not poor enough in all conscience.



wood to work it up, it ought to be presumed that we might make a considerable progress towards equalling our EUROPEAN neighbours. In ENGLAND it is true the quantity made does not fall short of 10,000 tuns, which is a vast object considering the scarcity of wood. What a field for fresh employment would not this island open, if all the waste lands were planted with whatever kind of wood might be most welcome to the soil; and if our rivers were in general made more navigable for the transportation of such wood, would not this enlarge the scene of commerce, and afford advantages in almost every shape? In AMERICA we want people<sup>c</sup>: there are then two countries, and a branch of commerce of great extent, with numerous appendages to employ the poor, to banish idleness the root of all evil, and to encrease the riches of the nation. By this means the heavy tax for the poor's rates also might be alleviated; for of those who are supported by charity, numbers certainly are capable of work. We do not seem to want knowledge, but industry is not known to many thousands, as the streets and the gallows give daily proof. In cases of this nature mercy is cruelty, for he who can work and will not, but lives on the industry of others, is next to him who deprives the industrious of the fruits of their labour by violence. If less indulgence was shown the poor, who upon examination are found capable of labour, and methods for their employment at the same time proposed to them, the evils we now suffer must gradually decrease. We are liberal in subscriptions of every kind of charity: supposing a subscription was on foot for cultivating certain lands, to be obtained by purchase or grant under certain conditions, planting of others, making certain rivers navigable, and the like: supposing also men of great fortunes were to appropriate a certain share of their large revenues to such works within their own property, further employment might be yet found in this island, small as it is, for a great number of people.

The ordinary computation of the RUSSIAN general export from St. PETERSBURG is three millions <sup>d</sup>, of which the BRITISH subjects in RUS-

<sup>c</sup> The same complaint is made at home; why then does not the government discountenance the use of spirituous liquors, and give some encouragement to matrimony among the working poor?

<sup>d</sup> In 1750, the exports were four millions of rubles, or 880,000 l. value.



SIA take off two, consisting chiefly in hemp, flax, iron, hog's bristles, hare skins, hempen and flaxen manufactures, RUSSIA leather, and other articles. The ordinary imports of the RUSSIANS were two millions, consisting in indigo, cochineal, lead, pewter, tin, wrought silks, gold and silver lace, toys, cotton and linnen manufactures, woollens and wines. The RUSSIANS receive the ballance in their favour in silver and gold, of which part is a sum of about 500,000 silver rixdollars, of the coin of the UNITED PROVINCES; these do not however pass current in RUSSIA, but the duties on goods must be paid in them at a certain rate, according to weight. The consumption of the RUSSIANS is so far increased with their acquisitions by commerce, that they import now more than usual, but the ENGLISH have still above a million ballance against them.

It seems to be a maxim established in all countries where commerce has made any progress, that the value of exports must exceed that of the imports, for otherwise the ballance must necessarily be paid in money: against this the RUSSIANS have taken the precaution of making it death to export their coin; nor is any plate or bullion exportable without express permission. I have already observed that in countries possessed of silver or gold mines, money may be considered as a commodity; but even in these countries we do not find such great wealth as where the only resource is in the industry of numbers of working people, and in those productions of the earth, which being essential to the support of mankind, are really more intrinsically worth than silver, gold, or precious stones.

When a people are desirous of foreign productions, and especially articles of luxury, if they do not exert themselves to pay for such commodities by their labour, and the produce of their own lands, they must be impoverished, and in danger of ruin. The augmentation of the revenues of RUSSIA, which I shall have occasion to mention, ought to be imputed in a great measure to the increase of her trade for some years past; and the increase of her national wealth to the great annual ballance in her favour, of one million of rubles<sup>d</sup>. Under arbitrary governments there wants nothing but the consent of the sovereign to establish a sum-

<sup>d</sup> 220,000 l.



tuary law; and even in limited monarchies, the example of a king can work surprising things: in countries where people begin to show a great passion for a vain and luxurious life, the more early such a law takes place, the more easy they will find the restraint,

The interior trade of RUSSIA is certainly very much augmented, and the commerce they carry on with the TARTARS and other frontier nations, is a considerable object; as RUSSIA sometimes receives a large quantity of foreign silver and gold from those nations, in exchange either for her own or foreign productions. I will not undertake from an impulse of my good wishes, to determine what articles RUSSIA should be cautious of importing; but those of the produce of GREAT BRITAIN are either essentially necessary to her, or such as she can never suffer by: I speak not of the major part of them, for I think not one article, EVEN OUR ALE, but tends to the good of the RUSSIANS; not to mention the great advantages to RUSSIA of the RIGA and NARVA trade with GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND. As our RUSSIAN trade is well conducted, I shall pass it over, observing only that in whatever light it is considered, it ought to be a means of establishing a perpetual friendship between this nation and the RUSSIAN empire. I shall now conclude this chapter with a succinct account of the RUSSIAN coins, weights, and measures.

It is remarkable that when the RUSSIAN trade began to flourish, and for some time after, their ruble, which was intrinsically worth no more than 39 current stivers of HOLLAND, was estimated on exchange at 70 current stivers, and the price of their commodities regulated accordingly in the merchants calculation of them: at length it was reduced to 50, and from 45 to 50 it has stood for many years. The RUSSIAN ruble has too considerable an alloy to encourage the exportation, but it is not so base as to induce any piratical traders to bring false coin into the country: I speak of the silver money. But by an error in politics in a late reign, the want of money induced the government to make a copper coin of 5 copecks value, which was not intrinsically worth 2; the consequence of which was, that some millions of this coin was run in upon them



them, particularly by the JEWS of POLAND; so that at length, in the year 1744, 45 and 46, the government wisely reduced the value each year a copeek, and it now stands at 2 copeeks. They keep accounts in rubles and copeeks, 100 copeeks to a ruble<sup>e</sup>, and their old way of reckoning yet in the greatest use, as it is in some parts of GERMANY, is with beads on wires, which they work without pen and ink.

The ruble, which is the principal coin, is also divided into halves, quarters, and tenths, which last they call greevens: they had formerly silver copeek pieces, but these were too intrinsically good to continue long in the country, and were at length called in. They have a gold coin of 2 rubles value, but not in abundance; also ducats of the present EMPRESS's coin which vary in price, but are never under  $2\frac{1}{4}$  rubles. In copper they have, besides the 2 copeeks already mentioned, denishkas, or half a copeek, and polushkas, or quarters.

## THEIR DRY MEASURE IS

|              |       |                                                                                |
|--------------|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4 Wocemik    | — — — | 1 chetwerit = $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ENGLISH pack.                                |
| 8 Chetwerits | — — — | 1 chetworth ordinarily, computed = to<br>23 to 24 pecks, or 6 bushels ENGLISH. |

## LIQUID MEASURE.

|                       |       |                            |
|-----------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| 8 Krushquas           | — — — | 1 wedro—13 ENGLISH quarts. |
| $1\frac{1}{2}$ Wedros | — — — | 1 stakan <sup>f</sup> .    |
| 2 Stakans             | — — — | 1 anchor.                  |
| 6 Anchors             | — — — | 1 hoghead.                 |

## WEIGHTS.

|             |       |                                            |
|-------------|-------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 Zalotnick | — — — | = 2 dwts. 17 grains $\frac{3}{4}$ ENGLISH. |
| 3 Dittos    | — — — | 1 lote.                                    |
| 32 Lotes    | — — — | 1 pound.                                   |

<sup>e</sup> Which I have already mentioned to be worth about 4 s. 3 d.  
of the word signifies a glass.

<sup>f</sup> Stakan in the common use



|           |   |   |   |   |                        |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|------------------------|
| 40 Pounds | — | — | — | — | 1 pood, 36 lbs. ditto. |
| 10 Poods  | — | — | — | — | 1 berquewitz.          |
| 63 Poods  | — | — | — | — | 1 tun ditto.           |

But the ENGLISH hundred generally comes net to  $123\frac{1}{2}$  RUSSIAN pounds.

### C H A P. XXIII.

*The heads of several remarkable events in RUSSIA. A short account of the city and court of St. PETERSBURG in general, also of some of the great personages who compose it. Modern taste of building in RUSSIA.*

NOTHING is more common than to be ignorant of that which we have had a good opportunity of learning, but particularly in the instance of an accurate inquiry into things relating to a place which a man considers as his home. I was five years in RUSSIA, and yet except in mercantile affairs, which I do not think necessary to mention further, I am not qualified to relate half so much as I have said of PERSIA, nor did it fall so much into my taste. When we are confined to a spot, curiosity naturally flags; or if we are undistinguished in the croud, there is seldom that ambition which impels our desires after knowledge: besides the pleasures and business of life engrossed such a share of my time, as admitted not any deep inquiries, and as I was not on a journey, I kept no journal.

With regard to RUSSIA at large, the several modern histories and accounts of it would also render my labour of little use. The most remarkable events which happened there, from the time of my arrival till I left it, was the peace with SWEDEN; the marriage of the great duke; the defeat of FRENCH intrigues; the alliance with GREAT BRITAIN, the empress of GERMANY, and the states of the UNITED PROVINCES; the march of the RUSSIAN forces to the assistance of the allies; and lastly, the downfall of count LESTOCK; of which events I should not chuse to give a secret history, if I knew more than what the gazettes relate. The court



of St. PERERSBURG has long enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most brilliant in EUROPE, but I cannot say whether it be now exactly true. In the reign of the late empress ANN, the countenance which foreigners received, added much to the splendid appearance of the court, and no doubt something to the politeness of it. Rich cloaths are still the passion of the RUSSIANS, and though sumptuary laws have been often talked of, and said to be essential to the good of the state, and have even been at certain times carried into execution; yet some incident or other still made a pompous appearance necessary, or agreeable to the sovereign.

There are some courts in EUROPE which seem to adopt this as a principle, that the more money courtiers spend, the less will be their riches, and consequently the greater their dependance<sup>g</sup>. In ENGLAND we think the richer the subjects, the more able, and consequently it may be presumed, the more willing they are to serve the state. Of all the pompous shows in RUSSIA, the appearance made upon the great duke's marriage, in cloaths and equipage, was the most magnificent, and answered the highest idea that can well be formed of the splendor of any court<sup>h</sup>. A man may travel over the world during a long life, without seeing any thing comparable to it: it was in general very grand, and elegantly conducted, but part of it was demonstrative of a very whimsical turn in one of the grandees, monsieur NARISKIN, whom I have mentioned as minister at the BRITISH court in 1743, and now under-marshal to the EMPRESS; he had a coach in a grotesque taste, the back and front as well as the sides of which were of looking-glass. But it is not in external embellishments only for which the RUSSIANS begin to distinguish themselves: two poets have lately started up as it were from a state of darkness, and wrote tragedies according to the modern dramatic rules: they have also translated lord ANSON's voyage, TELEMACHUS, and several other books into the RUSSIAN language, and bid fair to shine as bright as so northern a hemisphere can be yet supposed to admit.

<sup>g</sup> See remark in vol. I. p. 254.

<sup>h</sup> For a particular description of this ceremony, I refer the reader to the periodical memoirs of those times.









Amiceni delin.

And Walker sculpsit.

The Empress of Russia 1749.



With regard to the great personages in RUSSIA, the empress ELIZABETH PETROWNA, daughter of PETER the GREAT, by his empress CATHERINE, was born the 29th of December 1709, and began her reign the 6th of December 1741, being restored to the throne on which her father sat, by a revolution in many instances amazing, and of which the historians of our age have doubtless preserved the memory. This is one of the most accomplished ladies of her rank, nor was her person less amiable: time, which wears off the charms of youth, has rendered her corpulent, but she is yet very active, dances, hunts, and rides on horseback: on certain days she appears in men's cloaths, particularly on the day of her accession to the throne, when she treats her life-company of grenadiers at supper in the grand saloon of the palace, and sits at table with her officers, in regimentals as their colonel, in which she makes an agreeable figure. This company, for stature, comeliness, and the elegance of their dress, is hardly exceeded by any troops in EUROPE. The EMPRESS is in every instance gracious to an extreme: the great tenderness of her heart, or some other cause, has even forbid the execution of malefactors of whatever denomination, so that it is said there have been in different parts of the empire near 30,000 criminals in prison at one and the same time; but this, among many good actions, is a species of mercy which neither her subjects nor foreigners pretend to understand.

Close to the admiralty, where ships of war are built, is a magnificent palace, situated near the center of the city on the south bank of the NEVA; and in the eastern part is the summer palace and garden, abounding in choice statues and delicious walks; yet being a dead flat, it can produce but little variety. The theatre which was a very large edifice of wood, was lately burnt down, and another smaller near the summer palace is built: here ITALIAN operas and FRENCH comedies are acted at the expence of the EMPRESS, into which foreigners who make any appearance, are admitted: the operas were revised and sometimes composed by signior BONNECHI, the poet laureat, a man whose politeness and goodness of heart render him very amiable, and to whom I am much obliged<sup>i</sup>: masque-

<sup>i</sup> He is now a counsellor of state in FLORENCE.



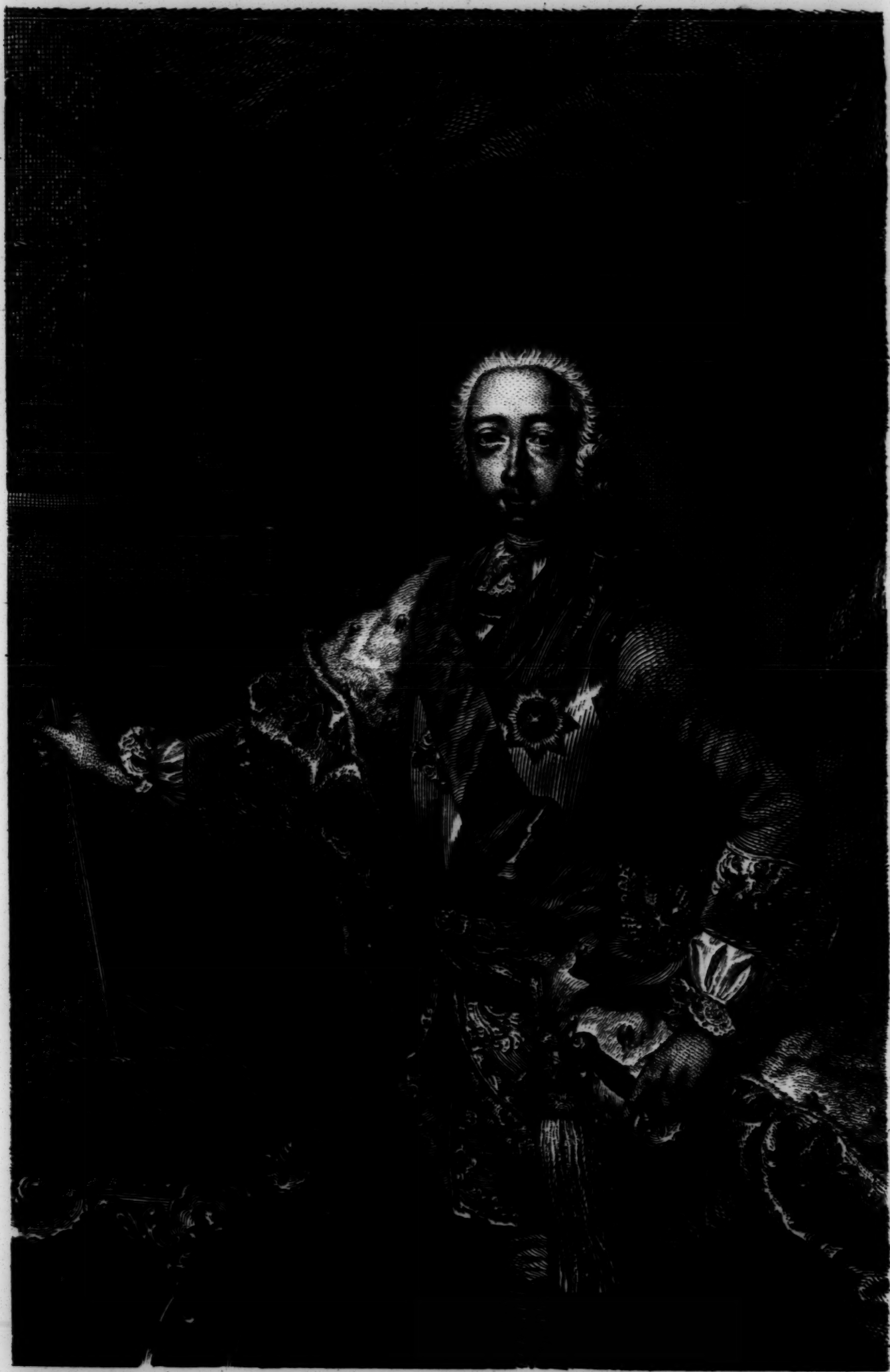
rades, balls and concerts are also frequent at court; but the EMPRESS seems to delight chiefly in select companies at the houses of those persons who are most in her favour.

This lady wears the order of St. ANDREW, which is a blue ribbon: the number of knights of this order are reckoned 24, but it is not always full: some of the persons who now enjoy it are, the great duke of RUSSIA, count ROSAMOFFSKY the grand veneur, count <sup>k</sup> BESTUCHEFF RUMIN the great chancellor, SHEPELOFF the head marshal of the court, general APRAXIN, who is at the head of military affairs, baron MUNICH a brother of the exile, the attorney general TRUBETSKOI; besides these are the kings of DENMARK, PRUSSIA and POLAND, prince AUGUSTUS of HOLSTEIN, baron BRETLACH the emperor's embassador, and baron CEDRENCRUTZ the SWEDISH minister; feldt-marshal KEITH has also this ribbon.

There is an order in RUSSIA inferior to this, called St. ALEXANDER, the number of which is 36 knights, who wear a red ribbon; there is also an order of St. ANN of HOLSTEIN, which is red striped with yellow; and another of St. CATHERINE's, which is red with a silver edge, intended only for women. The great dutchess of RUSSIA is the chief of this order, and it is worn by several great ladies in GERMANY. The first subject in this empire is PETER FEODOROWITZ the great duke of RUSSIA, appointed by the EMPRESS the heir of the RUSSIAN dominions, from the 18th of November 1743; his father CHARLES FREDERICK duke of HOLSTEIN, was married to ANNA PETROWNA, the eldest sister of the present empress of RUSSIA; the great duke was born the 22d of February 1728, and has reigned as duke of HOLSTEIN GOTTORP since 1739. In consequence of his grandmother on his father's side, being sister to CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN, he was the presumptive heir of that crown; but he declined it, and making profession of the GREEK religion, accepted the succession of the RUSSIAN empire. He was married the 1st of September 1745, to CATHERINE ALEXIEWNA, born the 2d of May 1729, daughter of CHRISTIAN AUGUSTUS prince of ANHALT-ZERBST. This

<sup>k</sup> They use the GERMAN title GRAFF, but in ENGLISH we call them counts.





G. C. Grooth Pinx.

Ant. Walker Sculp. 1752

The Great Duke of Russia 1749.







marriage has not yet produced those happy effects which were naturally expected from it. His imperial highness is reputed a young man of spirit and vivacity, with a taste for polite study, and endowed with sweet accomplishments.

The stature and gentle deportment of the great dutchess increase the charms of her person, in which nature has been liberal, and nothing renders the character of the duke and his dutchess more lovely than the harmony and mutual affection which subsists between them.

The next subject in dignity is the count ROZAMOWSKY, the grand veneur, who enjoys all the sweets without the fatigues of grandeur or the odium often annexed to the most important offices in a state. The behaviour of this nobleman has rendered him acceptable to most kinds of people. His brother the young count GRIGORII KIRILITZ ROZAMOWSKI, who was president of the royal academy, is now hetman of the COSSACKS in the UKRAINE, of which both himself and the grand veneur are natives. This is a kind of vice-royalty, and is incomparably the most lucrative of any employment in the empire: it is not however always the most secure, especially when the assistance of those troops is required in case of war.

Among the ladies of the court there are none so distinguished as ANNA CAROLOWNA the countess of VORONZOFF, who travelled with her husband the count, a few years since, to several courts, as PARIS, NAPLES, ROME, VIENNA and BERLIN, where her polite carriage and accomplishments, as well as her personal beauty were very much admired. Women in general are not so amiable in RUSSIA as in many other countries: indeed they daub themselves so much with artificial charms, as to conceal those graces which it may be presumed nature has bestowed on them, though they are rendered invisible. In general they profess that if nature gives them sufficient plumpness, they can procure beauty themselves: and to this purpose we may observe from the very idiom of their language, that CRASNA DEVITZA, which literally signifies a red virgin, is the term for a pretty girl. Although it has been observed,  
that



that very cold climates produce the same disposition to amour as very hot ones, yet this does not appear to be intirely the case in RUSSIA. Chastity as a virtue, is not indeed more in repute in this country than in the southern parts of EUROPE; but it seems as if the same causes in nature, which restrain them from a fierce resentment of the illegal commerce of the sexes, check, in some measure, their eager desire of such gratifications. As the RUSSIANS are not so refined in their manners, as to have a very delicate sense of honour; so we find that the chastisement of female infidelity is seldom carried beyond a beating, whilst the adulterer generally may compromise for his offence by a pecuniary mulct. Among the common people, the ecclesiastical laws oblige a man to marry a woman whom he has debauched. The common-place notion which prevails among the libertine part of mankind, "that women in all countries are the same<sup>1</sup>," upon a comparison of different people, seems just as absurd as if we were to say, that men of all nations are the same. Perhaps upon enquiry it may be found, that there are more women of principles in some countries, than there are men of principles in others.

The RUSSIANS are for the most part of a middle stature, though many of them are tall and comely. The common people incline to their antient customs; and though the majory submit to modern improvements, many chuse to suffer great inconveniencies and additional taxes rather than forsake their beards, and some idle distinctions with regard to religion.

The great chancellor count BESTUCHEFF, in conjunction with the vice chancellor count VORONZOFF, have the charge of the foreign affairs, and are both esteemed men of great worth and probity: the college of foreign affairs is under their inspection, and these with the senate, which is composed of twelve senators, are the chief managers in the government of this vast empire; the colleges of war, commerce, mines, &c. being subordinate.

<sup>1</sup> The contemptuous opinion in which MAHOMMEDANS hold women, has induced them to adopt this notion. See vol. I. p. 268. But among CHRISTIANS those who seriously advance this doctrine may also maintain that "priests of all religions are the same;" and the next step is, that virtue and vice are the same.



Ecclesiastical affairs are governed by the synod, which has now more authority and weight than in some former reigns: the EMPRESS, whose power is absolute, having given great demonstrations of her disposition to devotion. The GREEK faith is known to be the established religion in this country, which differs from the ROMISH in many essentials, such as denying the authority of the pope, permitting priests to marry<sup>m</sup>, giving the sacrament in both kinds, and believing in consubstantiation: they use images, and pay divine honours to the virgin MARY and to saints; but the majority of the courtiers, and men of education, here as in most other places, have certain religious tenets of their own, and seem to think for themselves.

St. PETERSBURG, which was founded by PETER the GREAT in the beginning of this century, may at present be considered as the modern and polite metropolis, and the chief residence of the RUSSIAN empire; and though so lately a morass, it is now an elegant and superb city, very healthful, and abounding in all the necessaries, and many of the pleasures of life. It was formerly built of wood, but now the use of this material is permitted only in the suburbs.

This city is ranged on both sides of the NEVA, extending from east to west near two ENGLISH miles; at the upper end of the north side is the citadel, which is more famous for the number of lives it cost in building than for either its strength or great importance, though it has several uses. It contains a stately church, in which the remains of its founder PETER the GREAT, and his empress CATHERINE, are deposited. It also serves to beautify the town, and as a prison for offenders against the state. This city has neither gates nor walls, but the marshy land near it, both in INGRIA to the south, and FINLAND and CARELIA to the north, and the gulph of FINLAND to the east, render the access to it extremely difficult for an army. It is divided by several canals, PETER the GREAT intending to take AMSTERDAM as his model in building it; but from the reluctance with which it was originally begun by his subjects, who

<sup>m</sup> But they are permitted to marry but once, so that the wives of priests are generally well treated.



were compelled to build, and likewise from errors in the plan, some part of the city remains intirely unexecuted, and in others the houses are too near the canals. This does not hinder, but there are some regular, broad, and well built streets, and several very noble structures, particularly the great chancellor's, the vice chancellor's, the marshal SHEPELOFF's, the senator SHEVALLOFF's, COUNT CHEREMOTEFF's, COUNT GALLOWIN's, and some others of less note.

The encouragement which the EMPRESS has given to building, for which she seems to have a passion, contributes to the beauty of the city. Besides the two royal palaces already mentioned, this lady has built a noble palace, said to be intended for the great duke, in case he had been so happy as to have children. There is also a nunnery lately built; and about fifteen ENGLISH miles distant from the city at CZARSKO ZELO, is a royal palace. These edifices are for the most part of brick, and plaistered over so as to make an elegant appearance; but the work is generally done in a hurry, and the materials not very durable. An ITALIAN architect having been some years since established in RUSSIA, the taste of ITALY is adopted in almost all their houses; and though the severity of the climate is so great, they abound in windows much beyond our houses in ENGLAND. As a further additional beauty to this city, the EMPRESS has caused a large equestrian statue of PETER the GREAT in metal, to be made under the care of the ingenious and much esteemed count ROSTRELLI, intending to erect it on a pedestal in the area before the palace, in pious memory of her father.

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#### C H A P. XXIV.

*A view of the revenues, number of inhabitants, taxes, military force and genius of the soldiery in RUSSIA. A succinct account of the nature of the climate, also of the stoves and kind of dress used in that country.*

THE revenues of the RUSSIAN empire, which were formerly of five millions only, are now encreased to 15 millions of rubles<sup>a</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> Three millions sterling.

and



and are yet improvable without distressing the subject. These may be computed to arise from the pole tax of 75 copeeks a head, on 8,750,000 male subjects. The boyar, or lord, receives of his boors about 120 copeeks ° each head male, according to the goodness of the estate: some bring in yet more considerably, and others cannot support themselves. The lord has also a certain number of them to work for him, but he pays the tax due to the crown on all his vassals, and after a revision is made, the same tax continues whatever mortality may succeed till a further revision takes place. The CIRCASSIANS who inhabit the UKRAINE pay but  $\frac{1}{4}$  ruble a head. The customs in St. PETERSBURG, RIGA, NARVA and ARCHANGEL, produce above a million of rubles; and the monopoly of salt, pot-ash, rhubarb, spirituous liquors, with the produce of the government's iron mines in SIBERIA, the CHINA trade, and inland duties constitute the remainder. This sum of 3 millions sterling, which we have learnt in GREAT BRITAIN the art of swallowing in three or four months campaign, answers the exigencies of the RUSSIAN state, and makes them courted by their friends, and dreaded by their enemies: nor is it strange if one considers that the pay of a major-general in RUSSIA is not above 3,600 rubles a year <sup>p</sup>, a commandant or brigadier 1,800, a colonel 800, a major 400, a captain 180, a lieutenant 120, and a common soldier 6. They are said to have at least 250,000 regulars, including garrisons of 70,000; and supposing a third part of them clothed annually, and giving them their allowance of salt, croop <sup>q</sup>, and bread, their pay will hardly exceed 30 rubles <sup>r</sup> a man, officers included; and consequently this formidable force costs only 7,500,000 rubles <sup>f</sup>, which does not take up half the national income. The collection of the revenues, which is so vast an expence in ENGLAND, is a very inconsiderable charge to the RUSSIAN government, their collectors being mostly paid by the perquisites annexed to their employments; from hence it is easy to reconcile how indispensably necessary presents are in RUSSIA in transacting business with any of the public departments, though I must own my opinion, that perquisites tend to the ruin of empires.

° 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  ruble, or 5 s. 1 d.<sup>p</sup> 750 l.<sup>q</sup> A species of meal.<sup>r</sup> 6 l. 10 s.<sup>f</sup> 1,575,000 l.



The number of souls in St. PETERSBURG are generally computed at 250,000, including the garrison, which is numerous; but in reckoning the subjects throughout the whole empire, they lay it down as a rule, that the hundred and seventy fifth male raises an army of near 50,000 men, and consequently supposing an equal number of females, the whole may be reckoned 17,500,000 souls: the tributary TARTARS, the RUSSIAN UKRAIN <sup>t</sup>, and the conquered provinces <sup>u</sup>, are not included in this account; if we consider the vast extent of that empire, though many parts are not inhabited, it is probable this number is near the truth. As to the UKRAIN, I have been assured that one estate in that country <sup>w</sup> contained 16,000 acres of arable, and 9000 of pasture land.

Besides the ordinary computation of 250,000 regulars, the RUSSIANS can collect a body of 40,000, or more, of KHALMUCKS, COSSACKS, and other TARTARS. In the last TURKISH war I have been assured that RUSSIA had above 300,000 troops in pay; so that with their own money at home, or in foreign pay when abroad in foreign service <sup>x</sup>, so long as these people train up a number of good officers, they must have great weight in the political scale in EUROPE, as well as in ASIA. They bear the extremities of cold and heat, hunger and thirst; and when well conducted to the charge, have generally shewn great intrepidity. Being provoked by long resistance, they are apt to be cruel when conquerors, of which I have heard several stories from those who served in the last TURKISH war.

With regard to the climate of RUSSIA, it is easy to conceive how extremely it differs, even in the several parts of it included in EUROPE, and still more in their ASIATIC dominions. In St. PETERSBURG we find that February generally brings a bright sun and clear sky, and the frost being yet very sharp, every object seems to glitter with gems; the nerves thus become braced by the cold; and though the reflexion of the sun from the snow is very strong, yet the eyes are seldom hurt by it. There is no small amusement in riding in sledges, to those who by the length of the

<sup>t</sup> This word signifies frontier.

<sup>u</sup> LIVONIA, ESTONIA, INGRIA, and part of FINLAND.

<sup>w</sup> Count GALLOWINS.

<sup>x</sup> Which happened in the year 1747.



winter have in some measure forgot the much superior pleasure which nature presents when she is cloathed in green.

March is often attended with showers, and these with the heat of the sun penetrate the body of the ice, which is generally three quarters of a yard thick on the NEVA<sup>y</sup>; being at length rotten, and appearing as a honey-comb, about the end of that month it ordinarily breaks up, and its motion seems to attract the north-east wind, for the wind generally blows very cold from that quarter. The gulph of FINLAND at the entrance of CRONSTADT is seldom free of ice before the end of April, so that the most early ships do not often arrive before the first week in May. This month is frequently very warm, the days being so much lengthened; thus nature seems to be reversed, and summer to precede the spring, for it is sometimes the first of June before any considerable verdure appears. The nitre contained in the snow invigorates the earth to that degree, and the intense heat of the sun brings on the verdure so fast, that the eye can discover its progress from day to day. Till the middle of July it seems to be one continued day, the sun not intirely disappearing above 2 hours in the 24: but the delight which this season naturally affords, is considerably abated by the uneasiness created by the heat; however a week seldom passes but they are refreshed by southerly and westerly winds, which often bring gentle showers, particularly from the south. I once experienced a delightful autumn till the end of September, but this happens very rarely: August generally closes the scene, so that we can hardly say there are above three months of summer.

September, in the ordinary computation, brings rain and frost. October increases the severity of both, and November always closes up the NEVA. Then comes on the season for the speedy and easy conveyance on the snow, which brings fresh provisions to market a thousand ENGLISH miles by land, as those can witness who have often eat in St. PETERSBURG the beef of ARCHANGEL. In December and January the cold is often very

<sup>y</sup> In some great rivers to the north east the ice is said to be much thicker.



intense, and the poor, who are sometimes overtaken by liquor, or exposed in plains or other open places, particularly on the river between the city and CRONSTADT, not unfrequently perish with cold.

RUSSIA is by no means a proper country for those who delight in rural pleasures, or think a walk in a fine day one of the most elevated joys the heart can receive. It is easy however to resolve the DIFFICULTY some make concerning the possibility of living at all, or LIVING in any sense above a bare existence. The abundance of birch and elder with which the RUSSIANS are supplied, and the commodiousness of the stoves, enables them to introduce any degree of warmth into their houses; and where proper care is taken to burn the wood intirely to an ash before the heat is confined, it is far from being disagreeable: but if the tube or chimney by which the smoke is carried out, is stopt too soon, the air contained in the room becomes corrupted, and where no relief is given by letting in fresh air, the effect is as mortal as that of charcoal.

The common people in this country are cloathed with long coats made of drest sheep skins, with the wool towards their bodies. These are admirably adapted to the climate, and cost only two rubles<sup>2</sup>; they also use a coarse cloth, in which they swaddle their legs and feet: this is secured by a cord of reeds, their sandals being also of the same material. Their caps are lined with fur, and cover the ears and neck as well as their heads: they wear sashes round their waste, and double gloves, one of woollen and the other of leather, which take in the hand without any distinction except the thumb; and these are also an essential part of their cloathing.

People of any distinction for the most part dress as we do in ENGLAND, and are under no other necessity than that of wearing a full great coat lined with fur<sup>3</sup>, such as wolf's, fox's, or linx's, with a deep quilted or fur lined cap when they go abroad. The women of the lower class, besides their petticoats, wear sheep skins as the men: those who move

<sup>2</sup> Nine shillings.

<sup>3</sup> The RUSSIANS call it a SHOUBE.









Amiconi pinx.

Major Sculp.

Peter the Great.



in a higher sphere, wear flowered silk cloaks<sup>b</sup> lined with furs, of which the most common sort is of white hare's. Ladies of the first distinction are seldom without these cloaks lined with rich furs, and by the advantage of coaches or sledges and domestic conveniences, perhaps suffer less by cold than the people in the south of FRANCE: although upon the whole I can by no means think it a climate conducive to the prolongation of life, especially to aged persons, or valetudinarians.

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C H A P. XXV.

*Several stories and private circumstances relating to PETER the GREAT.*

**B**UT what is truly deserving admiration in RUSSIA, are the labours of the immortal PETER, who still lives not only in every part of the government, but in every work of art and design. We can hardly say too much of this prince; his character is admired by the world in general, but particularly by the part of it that he governed, and which must ever revere his memory, so long as they retain any traces of his vast genius and indefatigable labours. If in the revolutions of ages they should again decline into their antient barbarity of manners, they never will give a stronger proof of that barbarity, than by ceasing to venerate his name. The most early part of this prince's life gave such proof of a mind formed for great actions, that he seemed to be a man from his infancy, and with his manhood the hero grew up to that prodigious height, of which he gave the world so many proofs. The intimations he had received from foreigners of the government, arts, and improvements of other countries, made him weep over the ignorance and barbarity of his own; but his sorrow gave way to his hopes; and fired with the noble ardour of true greatness, he resolved to pursue it by the only path which, from the light of his own genius, he discovered to lead to it. He had too good a judgment to attempt the thing by any means but those which alone were practicable. How amazing was his resolution, who was born to empire, and had an absolute power over so many millions of people, to humble himself  
to

<sup>b</sup> There are two kinds, some with and some without arms.



to the low offices and laborious drudgery of life! But he saw that example, assisted by his boundless authority, could alone inspire his people with just sentiments, or compel them to a due obedience; and that the opulency and power of nations must arise from useful arts and mechanic employments: he sought that power and opulency at their very fountain-head, and determined in his own person to act as much like a GOD as a man could do, diffusing his influence by actions, the due effect of which, humanly speaking, it was impossible for any man, except himself, to produce. Thus he submitted as if he had been born only to a mean and low fortune; and determined to do that which should deserve a crown; and when he had obtained it, to take on him the true glory of a king, in wearing it gracefully, and according to the order of that providence which watches over the good of mankind. His actions demonstrate that he thought it more glorious to excel as an artificer or mechanic, than to sway a scepter upon no other title than his birth.

It is hard to say what the world has lost in the journal which he kept himself, probably it contained what no historian can pretend to relate of him. I shall mention a few particulars which I do not find recorded of him in any historical accounts, being what I learnt of persons with whom he frequently conversed. In AMSTERDAM he entered in a dock yard as a common carpenter, in the name of PETER MICHAÏLO, but he was known only to the master of the yard. It happened one day that PETER, by mistake, took the tools of another person instead of his own; the owner discovering his tools in the hands of his companion, and these not being readily restored to him, words ensued, and the man gave PETER a blow; the master of the yard being informed of the matter, sent for the supposed offender, and in the presence of this prince reproved him severely, and threatened him with punishment. PETER now put on the emperor, not in the insolence of power, and with the externals of a king, but in pleading for the injured. "The man, says he, is in the right, and I am in fault;" and immediately made up the quarrel by giving him money. Thus did this great monarch learn the  
true



true art of life and government, and through this voluntary arduous discipline, teach himself how to rule the spirits of an ignorant and uncivilized people.

It has been imputed to this prince, that he was cruel. The exact rule of mercy and justice cannot always be observed by any mortal man; and least of all by princes, who cannot search to the bottom of every thing. A man of his strength of resolution, cannot be supposed to have a heart of the melting sort; and the ingratitude and insensibility of his subjects, their repugnance to accept the terms of their own felicity by the means he sought it for them, means so obviously productive of the end, and yet so obstinately resisted, could not but fire him with some resentment, and might also persuade him they could be ruled only by a rod of iron. Thus he might commit some acts of severity, but that he put men to death with his own hand, I am persuaded is not true<sup>c</sup>.

An amorous disposition, and a cruel one, are compatible in the same person, as experience often evinces; but cruelty and greatness of mind, such as this prince demonstrated, are not compatible. His great foible was the love of women; he was not however profuse, nor even generous in his amours, if one may believe the reports of miss CROSS, who was distinguished, in her way, by the emperor's favour in ENGLAND. In HOLLAND he was seen with a girl in his arms at a common drinking house, of which representation there is now an excellent picture in the palace at PETERHOFF. A gardiner once threw a hough at him for his amorous advances to a girl who was working in a garden. In short, for a king he was as little elegant as expensive in his amours: as in things of the highest moment, so in this he acted according to his inclinations, without any regard to forms. It is true, in this instance he was no hero, but as servilely submissive to an imperious appetite as a common man: and it seemed in him but mere appetite, at least we do not find that the pleasure or torment arising from a passionate indulgence, or a reasonable government of this weakness, ever drew him into inconveniencies, or protracted the progress

<sup>c</sup> In the case of the rebellion suppressed by general GORDON, historians mention his being angry that the executions were not performed before his arrival at MOSCO.



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An amorous disposition, and a cruel one, are compatible in the same person, as experience often evinces; but cruelty and greatness of mind, such as this prince demonstrated, are not compatible. His great foible was the love of women; he was not however profuse, nor even generous in his amours, if one may believe the reports of miss CROSS, who was distinguished, in her way, by the emperor's favour in ENGLAND. In HOLLAND he was seen with a girl in his arms at a common drinking house, of which representation there is now an excellent picture in the palace at PETERHOFF. A gardiner once threw a hough at him for his amorous advances to a girl who was working in a garden. In short, for a king he was as little elegant as expensive in his amours: as in things of the highest moment, so in this he acted according to his inclinations, without any regard to forms. It is true, in this instance he was no hero, but as servilely submissive to an imperious appetite as a common man: and it seemed in him but mere appetite, at least we do not find that the pleasure or torment arising from a passionate indulgence, or a reasonable government of this weakness, ever drew him into inconveniencies, or protracted the progress

<sup>c</sup> In the case of the rebellion suppressed by general GORDON, historians mention his being angry that the executions were not performed before his arrival at MOSCO.



of that active and extensive glory for which he was so much distinguished: and for this vice, we must say with Sir WALTER RALEIGH, as well as I remember, "If ADAM in his state of innocence; DAVID God's chosen servant; and SOLOMON, a man of the greatest wisdom, swerved from "their duty to the living God, through the love they bore to woman, "it is not so wonderful as lamentable that men in all succeeding ages "have, &c." This great prince, who understood so well what regarded the good of the society, could hardly exclude the religion he professed from the system of his politics; and we may charitably presume that he, like DAVID, made his peace with heaven.

He was often seen to weep when he ordered executions. Miss HAMBLETON<sup>d</sup>, a maid of honour to the empress CATHERINE, had an amour which at different times produced three children: she had always pleaded sickness, but PETER being suspicious, ordered his physician to attend her, who soon made the discovery: it also appeared that a sense of shame had triumphed over her humanity, and that the children had been put to death as soon as born. PETER enquired if the father of them was privy to the murder; the lady insisted that he was innocent, for she had always deceived him, by pretending they were sent to nurse. Justice now called on the emperor to punish the offence. The lady was much beloved by the EMPRESS, who pleaded for her: the amour was pardonable, but not the murder. PETER sent her to the castle, and went himself to visit her; and the fact being confessed, he pronounced her sentence with tears, telling her that his duty as a prince, and God's vicegerent, called on him for that justice which her crime had rendered indispensably necessary, and therefore she must prepare for death. He attended her also on the scaffold, where he embraced her with the utmost tenderness mixed with sorrow: and some say, that when her head was struck off, he took it up by the ear whilst the lips were yet trembling, and kissed them; a circumstance of an extraordinary nature, and yet not incredible, considering the peculiarities of his character.

<sup>d</sup> Some call this lady MACKENZY.



How generous was his conduct to the SWEDISH prisoners after the battle of POLTOWA! He struck one of his own officers for speaking disrespectfully of the king of SWEDEN<sup>d</sup>, and said to him, "Am I not a king, and "might not my fortune have been the same as that prince's?" but what a profusion of sound politics was displayed in his taking his sword from his own side, and presenting it as a token of his favour to the SWEDISH general RENCHILD, upon the occasion of that general's saying, that though the king his master had acted contrary to his opinion, yet he thought himself bound, as a faithful subject, to obey his commands.

As it is the custom with us to interrupt conversation by drinking healths at table, in RUSSIA they add also another impertinence, by their servants offering wine whether you ask for it or not. PETER was in warm discourse with admiral APRAXIN, when the vice-admiral SENAVIN presented him with a salver of wine; the emperor impatiently threw back his arm, which necessarily overset the salver, and struck the admiral, and then pursued his discourse as if nothing had happened; afterwards recollecting himself, he asked the admiral APRAXIN if he had not struck somebody; "yes, says he, your majesty has struck the vice-admiral SENAVIN; " 'tis true, he was in the wrong for interrupting your majesty, but he is "a very honest man and a brave officer." PETER then reproached himself for striking an officer of that rank, sent for him immediately, begged his pardon, kissed him, and the next day sent him a present.

VALENSKY, who had a command in the PERSIAN expedition, had been once beaten by PETER's orders, mistaking him for another. "Well, says "PETER, I am sorry for it, but you will deserve it one day or other, and "then remind me that you are in arrears with me;" which accordingly happened upon that very expedition, and he was excused.

Thus did this great prince temper the natural impetuosity of his disposition with the utmost tenderness and regard to those who deserved well of him. It is known that he himself submitted to enter his name as a private man in the army he raised, that his greatest subjects might have

<sup>d</sup> To this purpose we may remember the story of the PERSIAN soldier, who was told, "Sir, you "are paid to fight against ALEXANDER, not to rail at him.



no expectations of any other advancement than what should be due to their merit. He had most experience as a general, but his favourite passion seemed to incline to the marine; and he more than once appeared INCOG as a common pilot, and received an ENGLISH crown and a cheese for bringing a ship from the bar to CRONSTADT.

This prince had to contend not only with the perverseness of the vulgar; he found it necessary to teach the highest orders of his people to submit to the wholesome restraints of good laws without respect of persons. GAGARIN, a senator, had been for some time governor of SIBERIA, where he had accumulated more than a just ministerial fortune by indirect practices, particularly by oppressing the caravans passing to and from CHINA: at length he was brought to St. PETERSBURG, condemned and hanged on a gallows erected opposite the senate house. After a few days the senators begged that his majesty would order the body to be removed, intimating that it was a scandal to their rank as senators. "Yes, says the emperor, let him be taken down then, and hung up at the common gallows," which was accordingly performed.

The story of his supposed intrigue with baron GORTZ to invade ENGLAND, is mentioned by some historians; however that affair might be, he always denied it, but found matter of complaint against his vice-chancellor SCHAPIROFF, upon the examination of whose papers it appeared\*, that during his ministry at the HAGUE, he had accepted a sum of 10,000 l. for the discovery of a secret; so that after SCHAPIROFF had been brought to the block, and his sentence changed into banishment; PETER having received this evidence of his minister's guilt, would have recalled him to execution. OSTERMAN, afterwards vice-chancellor, represented to the emperor that as he had pardoned SCHAPIROFF, who had not been since guilty of any fresh crime, such an action would fully his honour; to which advice, offended as he was, this prince submitted.

WESTPHALEN, the DANISH minister at the RUSSIAN court, had sent a remarkable piece of news to COPENHAGEN; PETER, by means of his minister in that city, procured WESTPHALEN's own letter, and then

\* As some confidently assert.

challenged



challenged him upon the subject; WESTPHALEN flatly denied that he had given any such intelligence, till PETER produced his letter, upon which he very coolly replied, "I see princes have long arms; your majesty knows very well the duty I owe to my own prince and country, was I in your majesty's service I should consult your interest with the same fidelity." PETER, though extremely disgusted, acquiesced in this defence.

We must not be surprized that this prince, while he was only a pupil in the school of true greatness, condescended to menial offices or low mechanic employments, when only personal labour and personal knowledge could answer the end he had in view. In the height of his glory, and after the completion of his conquest, he had so entire a contempt of those external circumstances which sometimes constitute the whole of a king, except the power annexed to royalty, that he seemed ambitious only of a sovereignty in soul, and to act rather than appear the king. He had an extreme dislike to rich cloaths, and was never so well satisfied as in his regimentals<sup>f</sup>: he never wore but one suit of embroidery, and that for a single day only. In the summer time it was his usual custom to drive about the streets of St. PETERSBURG in a chair with one horse, sometimes with and sometimes without a page. In winter he has been several times seen in a common hackney sledge<sup>g</sup>. It would sometimes happen that he had not the value of three pence in his pocket to pay the fare; and he has more than once asked the loan of this money of any person whom he knew, and accidentally met; yet notwithstanding these seeming improprieties, the superiority of his genius supported the dignity of a great monarch; and it was by laying aside pomp and splendor, which were unessential to his glory, that he appeared so much like a deity, in every place, almost at one and the same time. He was generally at his tribu-

<sup>f</sup> A green cloth with a narrow gold lace, which is the richest cloathing in the army, and the RUSSIANS as well as the PRUSSIANS are not permitted to wear any other cloaths than their regimentals. The EMPRESS however has made her sea officers very fine, their cloaths being white cloth, and the captains have gold lace enough upon it to consume a good part of their pay. <sup>g</sup> These are in value about 4s. they are drawn by small mean horses, and driven by the commonest boors.



nals and public offices in the winter season by five in the morning; and thus his personal attendance, and knowledge of business, taught his subjects their respective duties, confined them to those duties, and made the state flourish. He was not contented without going to the bottom of things, and therefore instead of making his people wait on him, he watched them, so that he was seldom to be found in the palace. Prince MENZIKOFF had the charge of public feasts for foreign ministers, so that PETER spent no time in vain ceremonies; and as to his own diet it was rather coarse than elegant.

It is morally impossible that such a country as RUSSIA was, could be more speedily reduced to a regular and consistent plan of government: but the extremity of arbitrary power which had long subsisted, and the unpolished manners which had for so many ages prevailed, seemed to have established a rule of ASIATIC policy, which PETER was not able or not willing intirely to destroy: this consisted in a sort of connivance in the prince, in seeing the grandees pillage the lower classes of the people, according as their offices might afford them an occasion; but when they had thus accumulated wealth, and rendered themselves obnoxious to the laws, their sovereign came in for the plunder, either by degrading the offender, or suffering him to ransom one part by delivering up the other.

But it is amazing that this great prince did not enter seriously into the consideration of the bad administration of the laws, with regard to property and justice, till the very close of his life, and in his last sickness. The resolution he then took, confined the determination of common causes to the term of eleven days, but it was no more than a flash of light which involves the traveller in greater darkness. Laws which are so obviously intended to support the society, are now in most parts of EUROPE so perversely wrested to the purposes of lawyers, to the eternal reproach of CHRISTENDOM, as to become the plague and distress of the virtuous; and the instrument of the most detestable conduct of the base and corrupt part of mankind: nor is there, I believe, a single country  
in



in all EUROPE, except PRUSSIA, either in limited or arbitrary monarchies, where this is not complained of as a most crying abuse. Had this great prince lived a few years longer to sway the RUSSIAN scepter, it is more than probable he would have long time since shewn the king of PRUSSIA that example, which this prince, who really deserves to be called great, had he no other virtue, has given to all the other sovereigns and nations of EUROPE.

After what I have observed of the condescensions familiar to PETER the GREAT, the reader will not be surprized that he conversed with all sorts of people of whom he could learn any thing useful, among whom some of the ENGLISH and other foreign merchants were frequently his companions. He eat and drank with them, and was often godfather to their children; if his godchild died, he has even more than once attended their funerals. He was very inquisitive about trade, yet he confessed it was what he least understood: but his establishment of the commerce in St. PETERSBURG, and bringing the greatest part of it from ARCHANGEL; the premiums he offered to those who should find out new branches of trade; his setting up and encouraging new manufactories of linnen and hemp in his own country; the great countenance he gave to foreign merchants, and many other such like circumstances, are certain indications that he understood, in many instances, the means of advancing commerce as well as the great end of it.

This prince made even his pleasures and amusements subservient to the important ends of his government. He had more than once received very melancholy proofs of the impatience of his subjects under the reformation which he had planned, and was now accomplishing: this rendered him extremely suspicious of them. As men's hearts are generally most open in their cups, he often drank with them liberally, sometimes at court, and oftner at their own houses. His manners seemed to be rude, in requiring even the ladies, upon certain occasions, to swallow goblets of wine, or other strong liquors, but in this he had his views: drinking is still the vice of RUSSIA, but in a more elegant manner than in past times.

He



He had frequent convulsive distortions of his head and countenance, contracted by a fright in his youth, upon an occasion when his life was in danger; but in such cases it was always the rule of the company he was in, to look down, or a different way, and pursue their discourse without seeming to regard him.

To prevent a surprize or any attempt on his life, he would never lie alone: when he was not with the EMPRESS or other companion, he ordered one of his chamberlains<sup>b</sup> to sleep with him, which was an uncomfortable situation to them, as he was very angry if they awaked him; and in his sleep he often grasped them very hard.

What compleated his character as a master of exquisite art and acute judgment, he diverted his people into a contempt of that sordid ignorance, which for so many ages had reigned in this country, and which he now made it his task to banish. This could not be done more effectually than by ridiculing a superstitious reverence of the customs of their forefathers. With this view he ordered a great number of dresses of the several officers of the crown and court as worn in past ages; and in these himself and his whole court appeared in masquerade: thus exhibiting themselves to the people under several comic figures, they diverted them into a persuasion that they were at least as wise in their age, and in their appearances, as their fathers had been before them.

This truly great prince was born the 11th of June 1672, and was the son of the CZAR ALEXIS MICHAELWITZ, by his second wife NATALIA CARILOWNA NARISKIN; and after being the wonder of the age in which he lived, he took his leave of this world the 28th of January 1725, leaving a character which will command the admiration of all succeeding generations.

<sup>b</sup> Whom the RUSSIANS call DENSHICKS.



## C H A P. XXVI.

*The first establishment of the ENGLISH factory in RUSSIA. The complaints of the merchants of GREAT BRITAIN, particularly the RUSSIA traders, with respect to foreigners obtaining acts of naturalization, without any intention of continuing in this kingdom.*

**B**EFORE I take my leave of RUSSIA, I ought perhaps to mention a circumstance of some moment to my friends in that country, if not to this nation. The ENGLISH factory in RUSSIA, as I have already had occasion to mention, was first established in ARCHANGEL, in virtue of a charter granted by king PHILIP and queen MARY, at the same time that the CZAR IVAN WASSILOWITZ swayed the RUSSIAN scepter.

This charter is of too extensive a nature, either in regard to the crown, the RUSSIA company, or the BRITISH subjects at large, to be fully complied with, and is consequently become in certain respects obsolete: it reserves however in full force such necessary authority as excludes all foreigners, except RUSSIANS, from a participation of the RUSSIA trade to GREAT BRITAIN; and in virtue of the by-laws to which the traders acquiesce, the good government of the company is supported; a small tax is levied for extraordinary occasions, and for the charitable purpose of relieving poor seamen, and the widows of deceased mariners.

The factors employed abroad in the name of the RUSSIA company, removed from ARCHANGEL to St. PETERSBURG, soon after PETER the GREAT founded that city, which he made the seat of the RUSSIAN commerce. Among other particulars it is remarkable, that this factory has been for some time blended with foreigners, who in consequence of their naturalization, have enjoyed a participation of the privileges and immunities of the company. The BRITISH factors saw this with impatience, and at length sent their remonstrances to their principals in LONDON, in consequence of which an opposition was made to a bill<sup>i</sup> then depending before the parliament in behalf of a foreigner. This is a cir-

<sup>i</sup> 1752.



cumstance in every respect interesting, and about which there are a great variety of opinions: some particulars relating to the case of the merchants of GREAT BRITAIN residing at home, or in the BRITISH factories in foreign countries, with respect to persons obtaining acts of naturalization, without any purpose of continuing in these kingdoms, were printed, and of which I have preserved such extracts as serve as an introduction to the subject, viz.

“ THE granting to strangers all the privileges and immunities which  
 “ the constitution derives to those born under its protection, and  
 “ who have a mutual tie of duty and affection, has been ever regarded  
 “ in all civilized nations, as a point of the highest importance to the  
 “ public; as it plainly is in GREAT BRITAIN, where such a participa-  
 “ tion, in the birthrights of its subject, cannot be bestowed but by the  
 “ legislature, that is, in effect, by the consent of the whole kingdom.

“ Whenever therefore this high and great favour is conferred, it must  
 “ be presumed to flow from just and weighty reasons; such as eminent  
 “ services actually performed by those who seek it, or which may be ra-  
 “ tionally expected from them; and in this light, acts of naturalization  
 “ are highly reasonable, as they are apparently calculated for the public  
 “ benefit; and arguments of this kind have been usually suggested, when  
 “ favours of this sort have been rendered more general, with a view to  
 “ invite into this country foreign protestants of easy fortunes, skilful in  
 “ commerce, capable of introducing or improving manufactures, or, in  
 “ a word, fit to become useful members of the community; into which  
 “ they are received in the most solemn manner, and become intitled to all  
 “ that is dear and valuable to ENGLISHMEN.

“ These motives, arising from reciprocal advantages, have been esteem-  
 “ ed so wise and equitable, that acts of naturalization so founded, have  
 “ been ever considered as tending highly to the advantage of this nation,  
 “ and more especially to the mercantile interest; which has certainly  
 “ reaped very signal and indisputable advantages from them; as is parti-  
 “ cularly manifest from numbers of opulent families now subsisting in  
 “ these



“ these kingdoms, that were originally invited, fixed or established here,  
“ in virtue of such wise and salutary laws.

“ But this being the case, it is not easy to see how the same benefits,  
“ or any other adequate to them, can arise from particular or general acts  
“ of naturalization, where the privileges granted to strangers are not in  
“ some measure restrained to their residence within the BRITISH domini-  
“ ons; and this, from the last bill for such a general naturalization, seem-  
“ ed to have been the sense of the legislature from a clause evidently  
“ founded upon this reasoning.

“ The naturalizing foreigners, and thereby giving them a title to all  
“ the privileges of BRITISH subjects, without requiring from them the  
“ plain and natural equivalent of residing here, puts it in their power to  
“ settle in foreign countries, with all the advantages due to the subjects  
“ of GREAT BRITAIN; and thereby affords them an opportunity of  
“ serving their own countrymen, and indeed foreigners of all nations, at  
“ the expence of GREAT BRITAIN, without any the least advantage ac-  
“ cruing to this nation.

“ With respect to foreigners thus naturalized, and established as factors  
“ abroad, we are not led, either from reason or experience, to conceive,  
“ that they can have any particular attachment to the interests, or any  
“ real zeal or rooted affection for the welfare of GREAT BRITAIN; but  
“ must be chiefly governed by that principle of self-interest, which origi-  
“ nally led them to seek such privileges, of which they might avail them-  
“ selves, in consequence of those treaties and alliances concluded with the  
“ crown of GREAT BRITAIN, and by which many valuable immunities  
“ and indulgences are secured to her subjects; equivalents for which are  
“ and will be always expected from the BRITISH nation. These may  
“ frequently occasion a public expence, and that expence must be raised  
“ by taxes on the natives of this island; but these naturalized foreigners  
“ residing abroad, do not in the least contribute to them. Foreigners un-  
“ der these circumstances are then more favoured than the natives.



“ The arguments in favour of unrestrained acts of naturalization to factors abroad ought to be extremely clear and convincing ; for in RUSSIA, and perhaps in other countries, it is difficult, if not impracticable, to make the natives understand how the people of any other country, can become ENGLISHMEN, or BRITISH subjects, and, by that means, entitled to the privileges that by treaties are stipulated to us. Thus such treaties may be rendered very precarious, the dignity of the nation weakened, and the conduct of such foreigners subject us to disputes and inconveniencies, which otherwise might never have arisen.

“ The act of navigation, that wise and salutary law, which has been the bulwark of the BRITISH commerce, breathes a spirit that would incline us to think the same regard ought to be had to BRITISH subjects, as to BRITISH bottoms ; and that all imaginable precaution should be taken to secure the advantages arising by a commission on the sale of the commodities and manufactures of this island, to their natural proprietors and native subjects ; more especially at a juncture, when there is nothing more evident, than that all the nations in EUROPE have opened their eyes to the advantages of commerce.

“ The question then is, if upon this principle we ought to be very circumspect in bestowing the privileges of subjects on those who were yesterday our rivals, without any security that they will not become the same to-morrow ? To this we may also add, that as there was a time when the whole of our traffic was engrossed by LOMBARDS, merchants of the STEEL-YARD, members of the HANSE TOWNS, and other foreigners, if we ought in common prudence to avoid every thing that may bring us into a like state again ?”

The connexion which the nation has with foreigners, and the advantages confessedly derived from them, has made a deep impression on the minds of some of the greatest men in this kingdom ; but general views of things do not always give the mind that light and satisfaction as a particular object which it can more easily grasp, and from thence with the greater facility enlarge itself, and take in others of a similar nature. Let us then examine the particular case which gave occasion to these remarks.

“ The



“ The amount of the reasons against any restrictive clause in the acts of  
“ naturalization of foreigners as factors in RUSSIA<sup>k</sup>,” was this, that the  
treaty of commerce between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA,  
is really a matter of no great moment, and that the figure which the  
ENGLISH make in RUSSIA, is owing to their association with foreigners  
in that country. A further argument was, “ That foreigners situated  
“ in RUSSIA are under peculiar disadvantages to all other foreigners, or  
“ even what they themselves would be if situated in any other country ;  
“ not by any particular law of the legislature, but from a partial regula-  
“ tion of the RUSSIA company, by which each member is restrained by  
“ virtue of the oath taken upon his admission to his freedom, from giv-  
“ ing any commissions to any person not free of the company ; and that  
“ freedom is never granted but to BRITISH born and naturalized subjects ;”  
from whence it is deduced that the trade is a monopoly.

Thus because the RUSSIA company do not give up to foreigners the  
benefits of the RUSSIAN trade with GREAT BRITAIN, therefore their  
charter is hurtful to GREAT BRITAIN. Now it is evident that there  
cannot be a trade where a greater liberty is open to the natives of a coun-  
try than this in question. The RUSSIAN markets are always well suppli-  
ed, each trader pursuing his own inclination to import, and his own opi-  
nion concerning the rise and fall of markets, and the opportunities of  
sale : I have known BRITISH houses in St. PETERSBURG that for several  
successive years have had from 40 to 100 bales of cloth remaining over  
the annual demand. The credit given the RUSSIANS is never less than  
12 months, unless in small articles, and it is often extended to 15 and  
18 months, and the prices of goods are as low as possible for the mer-  
chant to receive a living profit.

There are no monopolies or exclusive privileges assumed by the  
RUSSIA company, nor any rule of conduct established, which has the  
least appearance of being injurious to this nation ; for any natural born  
protestant subject may, for 5 l. take his freedom of the company, go

\* A paper published in 1752.



into RUSSIA, and establish a house of business, under the protection of the BRITISH crown. The ENGLISH merchant may also consign goods to any person who is a native of RUSSIA, or a subject of GREAT BRITAIN, remembering that the advantage in favour of the BRITISH subjects in RUSSIA, according to the 27th article of the treaty of commerce is about one third part in the customs of soldiers cloths <sup>l</sup>, YORKSHIRES <sup>m</sup> and flannels. Nor is there any restraint with regard to the markets of these kingdoms, for any RUSSIAN as well as freeman of the company, may send RUSSIAN goods into ENGLAND; he is only to pay the aliens duty, as established by law <sup>n</sup>. The law of nations, the right of reciprocal protection, and the last article of the treaty do, I apprehend, make the RUSSIANS entirely free to trade to this country. Some RUSSIAN merchants have actually been here, but finding they could not dispose of their goods in a satisfactory manner, nor live near so cheap as at home, they returned to their own country.

Besides this favour in the customs, the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG esteem it a valuable privilege, that in all cases where they are defendants, particularly that of bankruptcy, their affairs are cognizable by the college of trade, and their books sacred to the inspection of four reputable merchants, appointed by that college. In many cases also, where they are plaintiffs, they apply to the college of trade; but their common suits and demands for money of the RUSSIAN merchants, have been for some years transferred to the magistracy <sup>o</sup>.

With regard to the quartering of soldiers in RUSSIA, the BRITISH subjects are indulged in a peculiar manner, and no doubt it ought to be deemed a favour, under a military government to be exempt from it. This privilege however was more sacred and more considerable formerly than of late years. I have myself opposed attempts made by the officers of the police to oblige me as a tenant to find quarters. I do not know that these attempts have yet succeeded against tenant or landlord, but if

<sup>l</sup> Coarse cloths so called.      <sup>m</sup> A thick coarse cloth.      <sup>n</sup> This duty amounts to 3 s. 4 d. on a tun of hemp, or about  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. on the present value of hemp, at 23 l. per tun, which in general terms is provided for in the treaty of commerce.      <sup>o</sup> This was a most ignorant and corrupt tribunal, and a shame to the RUSSIAN nation in my time; but if it should continue the same, it is in the power of the factors to represent this grievance.



the landlord is compelled to find quarters, and the rent is raised on this account, the tenant ought to complain; for we consider it not only as the spirit of the treaty, that BRITISH subjects shall enjoy an entire exemption from quarters, that is, that the landlord not being chargeable with it, the tenant shall have his rent so much the cheaper. This must be the sense of the 16th article, or it means nothing; for who can imagine it should be deemed a favour to a BRITISH government, that common soldiers may not sit in the counting-house of a BRITISH merchant in RUSSIA?

How cautious the RUSSIANS are of being lavish of any essential part of the treaty appears by this; that in order to ascertain the legality of property, when a BRITISH subject first appears in the custom-house of St. PETERSBURG, the officers demand a certificate of his majesty's consul, that the person is really what he pretends to be, and without it they will not clear his goods.

In what manner this treaty of commerce is considered by the RUSSIANS may be deduced from the embassy of monsieur DE DIEU, at the RUSSIAN court in 1745. It was generally reported, and I believe it is true, that his chief business was to negotiate a treaty of commerce on the behalf of his masters, the states of the UNITED PROVINCES, on the plan of that of GREAT BRITAIN; but certain it is, that he did not accomplish any such treaty: and if so able and so favoured a minister could not procure this privilege for his countrymen, the RUSSIANS certainly meant not that the advantages they grant to BRITISH subjects should become general; so that naturalizations granted to foreigners in RUSSIA tend to enervate the treaty of commerce, and may at length render it contemptible.

The RUSSIANS know very well, that the ENGLISH were the first that discovered ARCHANGEL; that they had an exclusive privilege of trade to RUSSIA in the reign of queen ELIZABETH; that PETER the GREAT, whose maxims of government are justly dear to them, always shewed a distinguished regard to the ENGLISH merchants, and even at the time that the politics of the two nations did not intirely coincide<sup>p</sup>, he gave them his royal word,

<sup>p</sup> Some difference with his late majesty, as elector of HANOVER.



that at all events they might consider themselves as under his peculiar care and protection: this I have been assured by one who was familiar with his imperial majesty. The RUSSIANS are also sensible of the political as well as of the commercial interest of the two nations, and consider this country, and I hope will always consider it, as their hereditary friend<sup>1</sup>. As our extensive commerce has reached every corner of the earth, the greater our support is at home, the greater must our reputation be abroad. Reputation is certainly no imaginary thing, but must be in some degree productive of good to our commercial interest, with relation to the spirit of commerce in our factors abroad.

The BRITISH houses in St. PETERSBURG have not only a trade to GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, but to HOLLAND, PRUSSIA, SWEDEN, HOLSTEIN, and several parts of GERMANY; also to PORTUGAL, SPAIN and ITALY; this has arisen from the connexions of their extensive commerce, intirely independant of naturalized subjects in RUSSIA. On the other hand, this is not the case with naturalized subjects<sup>2</sup>. There long has been, and I hope ever will be, an honourable distinction abroad, between us and other foreigners, both as BRITONS and as merchants, not in the esteem of the RUSSIANS only, but of all other nations. Whether it is worthy of national observation or not, can be determined only from the nature of the subject; but it is apparent that the naturalization of foreigners to reside in RUSSIA, creates ill blood in the breast of his majesty's natural born subjects who are in that country: it would have created much more, but that there are but few of the naturalized factors who have not

<sup>1</sup> I remember the compliment made to this nation by the governour of ASTRACHAN, a very ingenious man, whom I have mentioned in the course of these papers, speaking to his friends in my presence, "You are to consider, says he, the ENGLISH merchants in a different light from those of any other nation trading to this country; they are skilful, generous, humane, upright; they extend their commerce over the whole earth; and every country where they come is enriched by them. The commodities they deal in are necessary, substantial, and of the greatest use to the community; and they take off more of the RUSSIAN commodities than all the other nations united."

<sup>2</sup> I have heard the RUSSIAN merchants occasionally treat us with ridicule, by using a droll expression, which signifies, "Are you a white-washed ENGLISHMAN?" and a naturalized factor being in some distress, pleaded his being an ENGLISH subject, to VALENSKY, a minister of the empress ANN: "You an ENGLISH subject, says this minister, why, you was born in CASAN, in the dominion of the EMPRESS."

failed;



failed; had they conducted their trade with moderation and prudence, it is probable the BRITISH commerce might have been intirely in their hands, and this nation nothing the better for the commission on the sale of BRITISH commodities, or on the purchase of those of RUSSIA. Besides, is it not highly reasonable to think that such naturalized subjects would be less tender than the BRITISH factors, in regard to the prices this nation might pay for naval stores?

I passed some years of my life at LISBON, where I observed that the FRENCH protestants in that place live in mutual harmony with the native subjects of this island; and from the experience we have that their riches always center here, they are considered upon the same footing with other BRITISH subjects. The trading world is often suspected of acting upon narrow principles; yet our factors abroad are not only for the most part loyal, but upon the comparison of the several governments under which they live, with the excellent constitution of these kingdoms, they contract a patriot and disinterested spirit: but when from the strongest evidence, they apprehend the intention of the legislature is defeated, and their own interest hurt at the same time, they are alarmed, and think it their duty to appeal to their country. The BRITISH factors in PORTUGAL are jealous of those foreigners, who having obtained of the BRITISH crown a participation of the BRITISH birthrights, carry ALL THEIR wealth to any country except this island, where indeed their paternal connexions do not center. Many of the PORTUGAL traders signed the petition already mentioned, the meaning of which is intelligible beyond dispute, and seems to speak the general sense of the merchants of this metropolis, though SOME may be inclined, upon DIFFERENT PRINCIPLES, to DIFFERENT SENTIMENTS.

The BRITISH factors in HAMBURG, have not one naturalized subject amongst them. The convention of the BRITISH HAMBURG company, with the regency of that city, will not admit any naturalized subject to a participation of the valuable immunities of that company, and

Mr. RAIHLEIGH, a great PORTUGAL trader, who has given estates to many HAMBURGERS in LISBON, can tell if any of them ever brought a shilling of it into this country.

which



which for a series of years they have enjoyed with a most unblemished reputation. And what could this nation gain by an admission of naturalized subjects into that factory? It would be easy to prove, that whatever we play into their hands, is a losing game to this country; for I do not comprehend what they could give us in exchange. My reason for thinking it is a losing game is this; with regard to the RUSSIA factors, I know at this time eight or ten BRITISH subjects, I suppose there are more, who laid the foundation of their fortunes as factors in that country; and some of them are yet interested in houses there. There is not one of those persons but has brought riches, more or less, and some of them, I believe, to a considerable amount, to the national stock of this country, and are, I have great reason to think, good members of the community. On the other hand, I have seen a list of 24 foreigners, many of whom I know personally, who within these 25 years have been naturalized; and of all this number, in all this time, only one ever came into this kingdom, and he had particular connexions with a BRITISH subject. It must be observed, that it was only 25 years since any naturalization reached RUSSIA, the trade then was not so considerable as it is now, nor had our people established themselves there under the sanction of such a treaty as the present.

We are jealous of weakening ourselves by the want of foreign aids; but to think ourselves dependant in cases where our interest in one light is apparently wounded, is it not to weaken ourselves for fear of being weakened? Not to confound things of a different nature under one name, it must be observed that the circumstances of naturalized subjects at home, under this government, and entitled to enjoy all the good, and subject to share in all the evils which befall the state, are very different from those of persons who participate of the advantages which this nation enjoys abroad. The intention of naturalization no doubt is the benefit of this island; and if there are cases in which naturalizations are not attended with any benefit, but on the contrary prostitute the honour of the nation, enervate its influence, and counteract its native subjects; it ought to be presumed that such cases have not been set in a proper light. The FRENCH protestants have indeed strong connexions with this island,  
their



their parentage, their interest, or the protection they receive, induce them to consider this as their proper home, and consequently they are entitled to all the regard which we can shew them.

If experience is the best guide of life, it is that which must teach us whom to receive into our breasts as friends, and whom to reject in the commercial light we now consider the subject, as no friends to this country. By what rule can we judge better than by observing those people who return our kindness with gratitude; and those who forget the benefits they receive?

If our FIRST concern ought to be for our own children; it ought then to be considered how many sons of tradesmen, merchants, gentlemen, and even noblemen, are lost to their parents, their country, and their God, for want of employment! Merchants are no where more HONOURABLY esteemed than in this country; but they often lay the foundation of that knowledge for which they are esteemed, in distant climes; and shall we encourage foreigners to take their place? There cannot be more trade carried on than a country will bear: it will usually employ so much money; so many hands, and no more. Do we want money in this nation to carry on our trade? by no means. It is true, the national interest is already very low, perhaps it will be lower still, and what will be the consequence but that we must throw more money into trade, and extend our settlements and commercial interest over the earth, as much as possible? Why should we encourage foreigners to do any thing for us abroad, which we can do better ourselves? What circumstances should we be in, if all our factors abroad were foreigners? What tie, or what security could we have of their integrity in the sale of our commodities, much less in the promotion of national manufactures in opposition to those of other countries, or zeal in the purchase of the commodities of the countries where they reside, if they left us no pledge of their fidelity, nor spent any part of their lives in this island?

On the other hand, what riches do not our factors bring home! How many considerable men have not we in this metropolis from LISBON!



Who can be ignorant of the wealth that has been brought here by EAST INDIA factors? Are not these great national objects? ITALY, SPAIN, and other countries, are ever sending us new recruits to our commercial strength, arising from factorage. But there is yet a further reason which occurs: let the warmest advocates for general naturalizations, without any distinction of persons, professions, or residence, consider how destructive such naturalizations are to our GENERAL SYSTEM OF NATURALIZATION AND NATIONAL PROFIT. If we give to foreign protestants abroad that which should invite them hither, we may even prevent their coming to us. By being lavish of our beneficence we seem to be sufficiently paid by their acceptance of it, without any regard to the return which they are to make us. For what foreigner, seeing us so prodigal of our bounty in a case of this nature, which he knows to be injurious to the natural born subjects of this island, can, in proportion as it is beneficial to himself, entertain any other opinion than that we do not pretend to pursue our own interest?

The original intention of naturalization being confessedly the benefit of this nation, where there is the least ground of suspicion that the party going abroad means not to add any thing to the national advantage, ought he not in such a case to declare on what principles he pretends to the favour in question; and if it should appear that he deceived the legislature, would not such a resentment be due as at least to refuse a compliance?

If a reciprocal regard to the interest of this nation, is the sole motive of the invitation given to foreigners who reside here; and if by their residence they do in fact give us the earnest of a grateful return; is there no security to be asked of those who do not so much as pretend to live amongst us, nor give us any kind of equivalent? The very expectation of advantage from them is distant, remote, confused, and perhaps utterly unintelligible. The injury is obvious to demonstration, and is actually complained of by those who feel it, whose interest is common with that of the whole nation.



The reader to whom the subject is new, must now be informed that the merchants and RUSSIA factors at length obtained the thing they asked, by fixing the time of absence to the naturalized foreigner already mentioned, to three years, and then to reside three years alternately in this country, or to become an alien: but this was a temporizing accommodation of the matter, and does not seem to answer the full intent of the legislature. Upon the principle that this restrictive clause will produce the end proposed, it might become a rule of conduct to the nation in similar cases of naturalized factors. As a trading nation we might be yet more indulgent to those, whose connexions are nearly equal with the common ties of the natural born subjects; but let us consider dispassionately, how dangerous it is in politics to enter very deep into refinements of this sort, either immediately to advance the interest of a nation, or to prevent an injury which may be more remote.

The object most dear to an honest man is the real happiness of his country. This principle being laid down, let us consider what means are most effectual to obtain this end in a direct view. We see one of the wisest princes in EUROPE using his utmost endeavours to bring people into his country; as we desire to engage foreigners who can bring riches, arts, or industry, to come to this island. He gives them lands and great immunities; he has brought 20,000 into his capital in a few years: but he is far from extending those privileges to persons out of his dominions. With regard to ourselves, the same reasons that induce us to give encouragement to people to come to this island, may be a sufficient motive not to give it out of these dominions, and under foreign jurisdiction. If we carry our views so far as to give foreigners abroad, a power of taking a share in what our own people possess, without any security of the least return from such foreigners, nay, where all appearances make against any return, do we not counteract our own principle?

If it is urged, that a nation cannot be said to confer a favour, which by restrictions is rendered less valuable; I do not apprehend, without being QUIXOTS in politics, what it is we mean by these words, for I suppose interest is the object in pursuit. As to weakening the influence of naturalization, by which commerce is intended to be promoted; this also seems



to prove nothing more than that we should run all hazards, rather than lose any possibility of getting a subject who is a foreigner, though at the expence of a subject who is a native. It is said that naturalization without limitation, has, after an indefinite absence, brought foreigners into this country who might not otherwise have come. It would be well worth examining if this is true, and who such persons are, and what were their inducements to settle here, before this argument can be answered : for when they do in fact come, we receive them with open arms ; and we ought to countenance and encourage those who MAY settle here, if we do not pay too much for it. But I do not comprehend that here are any settlements of such weight as to establish a rule of conduct in opposition to our commercial interest, as it appears in a direct view. The case before us is foreign to the countenancing of strangers, who set out upon a principle of DESIGNING to settle in this island. I say FOREIGN TO SUCH PRINCIPLE ; for though many FRENCH protestants have come here, after being as long abroad under the protection of the crown of GREAT BRITAIN, as they pleased, yet still the matter will rest on this issue. Are we so fond of naturalization as to give a power to foreigners WITHOUT DISTINCTION, to supplant our own people, where experience teaches us we have no just grounds to expect any suitable returns ?

It cannot be too often repeated, that we ought to be cautious of curbing in any degree the inclinations of the natural born subjects in regard to commerce ; or of damping that spirit and application to trade, on which is founded the opulence of this nation, and its strength and influence as a maritime power. And whilst interest is the great incentive to human actions, and particularly actions of this kind, I think it is apparent that the more we interpose to countenance foreigners in commercial designs, in cases not demonstrably beneficial to this country ; the more we depress the spirits of our own merchants, who confessedly do advance the interest of the nation : and this discouragement may extend not only in regard to their being deprived of those profits which immediately accrue from the share such naturalized foreigners have in their trade, but also to a jealousy of being intirely supplanted in the course of time.

May



May it not be questioned what prejudices would this nation receive, if no naturalized subject till he has resided here seven years, nor the children born abroad of persons already naturalized, their parents not having lived in his majesty's dominions for the same number of years, were received abroad as factors or merchants in common with native born subjects? If it can be demonstrated that such prejudice will be greater than any that can be proved on the other side the question, there is no room for a debate; but if it can be made appear that it is only equal, the scale, we may expect, will turn in favour of the native subject; much more if the prejudice is against the latter; for this plain reason that the national and mercantile interest are but two words for the same thing. The impartial reader will consider the argument, not the writer, if I am suspected of interest where I have no other view than national benefit; yet the real truth can receive no diminution. I hope that will be done which is most for the interest of my country, be it what it will.



P A R T III.  
T H E  
A U T H O R's R E T U R N  
T H R O U G H  
G E R M A N Y A N D H O L L A N D T O  
E N G L A N D.

C H A P. XXVII.

*The author leaves St. PETERSBURG in July 1750. A succinct view of the EMPRESS's palace at PETERHOFF, and the road to it. A particular account of CRONSTADT and the RUSSIAN navy. A description of REVEL and its trade, with reflections on the interment of human bodies in churches. The author pursues his voyage to DANTZIG.*

**T**HE frequent disappointments which had for some time prevented my returning to my native country, increased my wishes for the happy hour which at length arrived. I had already travelled through LIVONIA, and the reports concerning COURLAND not inspiring me with the curiosity of seeing it, I therefore resolved to embark in a small ship for DANTZIG.

July the 9th, I left St. PETERSBURG, and travelling near the banks of the NEVA, for the most part in a sandy road, I passed by the palace of STRELNA MUSA, which is about 20 wersts from St. PETERSBURG. It stands on an eminence, and commands an extensive view of the gulph of FINLAND, near the mouth of the NEVA. This was intended to be a more grand and elegant building than PETERHOFF; the gardens also were  
laid



laid out in a magnificent taste, but the death of PETER the GREAT, together with the badness of the foundation of this edifice, put a stop to the prosecution of the design: from thence to PETERHOFF is 15 wersts. The present EMPRESS has caused many of her courtiers to build country houses on the south side of the road, which render the face of the country more agreeable. Among these the house and gardens of baron WOLFF are most distinguished for extent, beauty, and convenience. These country houses are for the most part built of wood, and very little expence is bestowed on the gardens; the soil also in general is sandy, so that the whole makes but a faint impression on travellers.

PETERHOFF, as left by PETER the GREAT, was but a mean building; the present EMPRESS has enlarged and beautified it very much. I have heard the waterworks compared to those of VERSAILLES, with this distinction, that the waters of PETERHOFF are sweet. This palace being situated on an eminence on the south side of the gulph of FINLAND, commands an extensive prospect of the water; it also takes in the island of CRONSTADT, about six miles to the north west. The forest of masts, which appear from the basons in that island, during the summer season, enlivens the prospect, and gives the idea of a flourishing commerce. There is a great variety of scenes in PETERHOFF; but as they are mostly on a dead flat, and the walks made of sand; this garden of so great a potentate is incomparably short of a STUDLEY or a BRAMHAM<sup>a</sup>, and many others of equal beauty in ENGLAND. From hence to ORENJENBAUN is about 5 wersts: here the celebrated prince MENZIKOFF inhabited the palace which is lately fitted up for the great duke. Several of my friends having obliged me with their company thus far, I took my leave of them, and passing the gulph where it is about five miles broad, I arrived at CRONSTADT.

Here I was detained for several days by foul winds and tempestuous weather, not common at this season, so that I had an opportunity of examining one of the greatest curiosities in the world of its kind, which is the dry dock, contrived by PETER the GREAT. This work, by the

<sup>a</sup> Seats in YORKSHIRE.



length of time it has been in hand, and the alterations made by the different directors of it, must have created a large expence. It reaches about 700 fathoms, is 60 feet broad at the bottom, 80 feet at the top, and 40 feet deep, having flood-gates in different parts: it is intended to receive fourteen ships of the line of battle, to build or repair them dry, and afterwards float them off. There is a grand reservoir, which was then almost dug 18 feet lower than the docks, and consequently is near 60 feet deep; and yet, to my great surprize, there were no springs which incommoded the workmen. It is about 600 feet long, and 300 broad, and will contain about 16,000 cubical fathoms of water, each fathom of 340 cubical feet, which at  $6\frac{1}{2}$  gallons each, make 140,317 tuns. The stone which was employed in forming this dock being found exceeding perishable, they now use a kind of flint, which has been lately discovered on the island, than which nothing can be more durable to all appearance.

The RUSSIAN naval power, which was carried to a great height so early as the reign of PETER the GREAT, appears to be sufficient for all the purposes of that empire, and capable of supporting their new conquests on the BALTICK, should the SWEDES ever attempt to retake them by a naval power; though I believe the friendship of the BRITISH nation, as a maritime power, is no unpleasing circumstance to RUSSIA upon this very account. Their fleet consists of 25 ships of the line, and 15 bombketches, fireships and frigates, of about 30 guns each, of which the greatest part are kept in repair; and one, two, or three capital ships are built and launched every year at St. PETERSBURG: but what gives a great weight to their naval strength, is the numbers of their gallies, which carry from 100 to 300 men, of which only 6 or 8 are sailors. These are proper for the BALTICK in the summer; and as they draw but little water, they are formidable objects on an enemy's coast, as the SWEDES experienced in their war with PETER the GREAT. The RUSSIANS are computed to have near 10,000 seamen, of which above half generally live at CRONSTADT, and when employed as carpenters, or about ship affairs, are allowed provisions, and ten copecks a day. The  
harbour



harbour or wet dock, intended for the crown ships, will contain 80 men of war, and in that for the trade 250 merchant ships can be moored; but the latter having the deepest water, is oftentimes preserved for the large ships of war.

The island of CRONSTADT is near 15 miles in circumference, but very barren; the town is computed to have near 25,000 inhabitants, including soldiers and sailors: besides this there are only two or three small villages for fishermen. Here is a palace built by PETER the GREAT, and about 25 large brick houses, but the support of them being expensive, they are left uninhabited. In this place PETER the GREAT had formed a plan of fixing the trade, and designed to cut a canal near 20 miles long on the south side of the gulph, which would have passed through the garden of STRELNA MUSA. The intent of this was to provide a safe passage for barks loaded with the commodities of this country. However this project was hardly practicable, for it would be dangerous for large and heavy laden barks to cross from ORENJENBAUN to CRONSTADT; but the common reason assigned for this great prince's declining this scheme is, that it would have prevented his breeding up the seamen, who are now constantly employed during the summer season in navigating deck'd vessels laden with merchandize from St. PETERSBURG to CRONSTADT.

The 15th, the wind becoming fair, I embarked on the MARIA CONSTANTIA, a small yacht belonging to DANTZIG, and after the ordinary ceremonies of searching the ship, and calling over the passports, we were suffered to depart. The next day we advanced the height of HOGLAND, observing the several islands and rocks on the FINLAND shore. Being almost calm, we had a view of the island the whole day: there are but few parts of it capable of cultivation; however it has a small number of inhabitants on the east coast, as also on the west, who are all miserably poor. The RUSSIAN fleet being then at sea, a sloop belonging to the crown came out with us to examine if all the buoys and flags in the low water soundings, were in proper order.

The LUTHERAN seamen, as well as others of that religion, are great advocates for psalm-singing. I observed they modulate their voices to a



tone consistent with pious thoughts, without that extravagant vociferation practised in some churches among protestants, and very contrary to the burlesque devotion of those who make a discordant babbling without singing at all. This seems to be a reproach to wealthy parishioners, in whose breast it is to rectify this abuse, by giving money to teach young persons to sing. In the several voyages I had made, this was the first in which I discovered any marks of piety among seamen: the strongest profession they generally make of the being of a God, is that of swearing by his name.

The uneasiness I suffered by the sea sickness, made me rejoice at the sight of REVEL, the capital of ESTONIA, where the master was engaged to touch. The 18th in the morning we went on shore, and were conducted to vice-admiral BAUSE, commander of the port, of whom, according to custom, it was necessary to ask permission to enter the town. This place, which is 50 leagues distance from St. PETERSBURG, submitted to PETER the GREAT, by capitulation in October 1710. The plague had then raged with such fury, that of 50,000 inhabitants, not 4000 remained to receive their conquerors. The RUSSIANS did not immediately enter the city, thousands of dead bodies being yet unburied. This place having thus submitted by capitulation, is taxed only with the support of a garrison of 5000 soldiers with quarters, and 3000 seamen, with quarters, fire and candle, which may be reckoned an expence of four rubles a man <sup>b</sup>. Within the walls are about 600 houses, containing near 8000 souls: the people seem to be formal and reserved, but live in such great ease and security, that they might sleep with their doors open. Industry prevails so much here, that I was in more than one private family where they spun, dyed, and manufactured both in cotton and wool. Besides the number of inhabitants already mentioned, there is a large suburb indifferently well peopled.

This was formerly a free town, and one of the greatest ports on the BALTIC, NARVA being its only competitor. The RUSSIANS then brought the produce of their own country, as well as that of PERSIA to this mar-

<sup>b</sup> Amounts to 6800 l.



ket. The houses, which are of the most durable materials, seem all prepared for the reception of merchandize, the first apartment into which one enters, appearing to be a large warehouse. The trade of this town at present is but small. The country abounds in corn, of which they have generally great magazines. They have formerly exported 14,000 lasts, or 28,000 tuns ENGLISH, of all sorts of grain, which, at a moderate computation, is worth 20 rubles a last. The SWEDES used to take off great quantities, but since the last war, and the jealousy which subsisted between the two crowns, during the space of three years, they had made no sale for exportation, except for the use of the RUSSIAN army. They have also exported 2 or 3000 schippounds<sup>c</sup> of hemp and flax. The flax coming from about DORPT is equal to that of MARIENBURG.

The imports of this town consist in about 300,000 rubles value in piece-goods and other necessaries for the consumption of the town and province. Also about 2000 lasts, or 6000 tuns of salt, which is consumed in the province for curing meat and fish, and eaten with bread, according to the custom of the poorer sort of people. The price of salt varies in proportion to the quality and quantity, from 33 to 44 dollars, of 80 copecks<sup>d</sup> per last of 18 barrels, and in these dollars they keep their accounts. The salt of IVICA<sup>e</sup> is so much superior in colour as well as in strength, as to be 15 per cent. heavier in weight than the salt of SETUVAL<sup>f</sup>, and the grain so large, and produces so strong a brine, as to be 30 per cent. better in price. They have also salt from the island of MAYO<sup>g</sup>, and from CAGLIARI<sup>h</sup>; the last in strength is equal to that of LISBON or SETUVAL, but otherwise much inferior.

Great part of this city stands upon an eminence, and commands an extensive prospect, particularly towards the sea. The streets are neither broad nor regular: the houses are lofty, having steep roofs to carry off

<sup>c</sup> This weight is about 7 per cent. better than the RUSSIAN BERQUEVITZ. and sixpence.

<sup>e</sup> An island in the MEDITERRANEAN, near MAJORCA.

PORTUGAL, vulgarly wrote St. UBES. of SARDINIA.

<sup>d</sup> Three shillings

<sup>f</sup> A town in

<sup>g</sup> One of the cape DE VERD islands.

<sup>h</sup> Capital



the snow. The city is defended by outworks, a mote, and a wall about 6 feet thick, and 40 high, with turrets every 60 or 80 yards; the walls seem to be very antient. This town is governed by the LAND RATH, composed of the governor of the town, and twelve gentlemen or noblemen, who are a kind of senate. These take cognizance of all matters relating to the province and to the nobility, and determine all suits by a majority of voices; but there is a liberty of appeal to the college of justice in St. PETERSBURG.

The affairs of the town are governed by a magistracy composed of four burgo-masters, three secretaries, and fourteen magistrates. The town house is an antient building, but contains nothing remarkable except some paintings which are in great esteem, as the judgment of SOLOMON, St. JOHN the baptist beheaded, the trial of SUSANNA, and our saviour's sentence of the adulterers. The city music, consisting of six hands, entertains the populace from the windows of this building every sunday and thursday, from 11 to 12 at noon.

Here are four LUTHERAN churches for the citizens, and one for the peasants of the adjacent country; also two GREEK churches for the use of the RUSSIANS, whose number however is not great. The largest and most superb edifice is the great church of St. OLAUS, the antiquity of which I could not learn: the many changes this province has undergone have destroyed their records. The only ornaments of it are a few monuments and ensigns of honour of several noblemen and gentlemen of the province who had been interred in the church. This is also the common burial place for a great part of the town, of which I had a very sensible proof, in the offensive stench that arose from the pavement. The stones over the vaulted sepulchres were of a prodigious size, so that they were mostly broken. The citizens of REVEL are extremely tenacious of their respective properties in the vaults, and entertain a superstitious reverence for the church, as a repository of the dead. I could not help expostulating with my friend who conducted me, on the gross absurdity of injuring the living for the sake of the dead, or rather that the living injure themselves, from a foolish pride, or mere senseless superstition. It



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is however too common to see men slaves of custom, violating the freedom of their own minds in a fond presumption of enjoying distinctions above the vulgar, even after death. The antients had their sacred groves for the interment of the dead, which is a custom yet observed in the east, as I have had occasion to mention. Mr. THOMAS CLAYHILLS, a considerable person in this place, and the only ENGLISH merchant, entertained me with great hospitality and politeness, during my short abode in this city, which was only one day.

The 19th, we reimbarked, with a gentle gale at north east, and advancing about four leagues, we passed by ROGOVIKOFF, which has an open entrance and deep water, proper for ships of war; these are advantages REVEL does not enjoy, for which reason the RUSSIANS talk of making their chief harbour in this place, but it will require a considerable expence of timber. The 20th we reached the height of GOTLAND: this island is about 70 miles long and 20 broad in the middle part, falling near to a point at both ends. It has 18 towns and villages about four miles distance from each other: it belongs to the SWEDES, and was formerly very rich, but has in time of war been often plundered by their enemies; so that the inhabitants are not in the most flourishing condition. The 22d, we passed by the RUSSIAN fleet in the night. The next day we had hard gales of wind; I was surprized that the master kept no account of his run, but he always guessed right when we should fall in with any particular land. The 24th in the morning, having run near 200 leagues from St. PETERSBURG, we happily arrived in the VISTULA.

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C H A P. XXVIII.

*A remarkable occurrence at the mouth of the VISTULA. A short account of DANTZIG, particularly the great LUTHERAN church, the arsenal, and fortification. Reflections on the conduct of count MUNICH at DANTZIG.*

**A**T the mouth of the VISTULA we saw a frigate of 20 guns, belonging to the crown of SWEDEN, the captain of which had that morning



morning thought proper to oblige the master of an ENGLISH merchant ship to strike the pendant which he wore. The master thought this an arrogant impertinence of the SWEDE, and acquainted all the other masters of the ENGLISH vessels with what had passed; upon which they all let pendants fly in defiance of the SWEDE. He perhaps was more in the right not to contend with them, than our people to trifle with a distinction which is the prerogative of the nation; I mean the respect paid the royal ships of GREAT BRITAIN, as distinguished by pendants. I could not help reflecting upon what little incidents national animosities often arise, and how critical some conjunctures are, in which a right judgment is required, that authority may neither be despised, nor strained beyond its due limits. After a stormy night and extreme sea sickness, I took my leave of the ship with great satisfaction, in order to pursue my journey by land. The VISTULA has two branches up to DANTZIG, of which the deepest is formed into a canal, and machines are employed to deepen it by removing the mud; but vessels drawing more than  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet must load at the mouth of the river. There is a castle about two ENGLISH miles from the town, which in itself does not appear to be strong, though the shallowness of the water, and the boom which is set every night, answer the purpose of defence for which it was intended. From the castle we went up to the town in a TRECK SCHUYTE, which plies at stated hours.

The houses in DANTZIG are for the most part of five stories, which makes the streets appear the narrower, especially as the entrance into the houses is by four or five stone steps, and a balcony, both which make a projection of ten or twelve feet. They are very antient and strong, and preserved clean, after the manner of the HOLLANDERS, though with less nicety; the number and cleanness of their glass-windows, have an elegant effect. Many of the streets are planted with wild chestnut-trees about 30 feet high, which by the spreading of the leaf afford an agreeable shelter. These trees are well known to have a large white flower, which rises pyramidical, and makes a very agreeable appearance: but the inhabitants are more agreeable than the houses. The women are much like



like the ENGLISH in their stature, countenance and air: they have the reputation of being handsome, and indeed they are as much so as any I have seen, except those whom they most resemble. The bad ones make a market of their beauty in the worst manner in the neighbouring countries, where they are remarkably eminent in a profession which is apt to convert beauty into deformity, and health into disease. Women of distinction affect the manner of the POLES, so that the most respectful way of saluting a lady, is to kiss her hand, if one does not chuse to go so low as the hem of her pettycoat, as practised by the common POLES. Thus what is politeness here, is an affront at NAPLES, as the young GERMAN lately experienced, whose wig was ruffled by the fair hand of a lady.

In this place is an ENGLISH factory. I was received with great marks of kindness and hospitality by Mr. GILBERT ROBERTS, and his nephew Mr. WILLIAM ROBERTS, and with no less politeness by Mr. GIBSON, who was lately charged with the affairs of the BRITISH court. They live here much after the manner of ENGLAND, and have regular clubs. I was very agreeably lodged in the BEGINE STRASS, at a house frequented by several persons of the best distinction, where we were often entertained with POLISH music performed by JEWS.

It is easy to observe a republican spirit prevail in this great trading city, and some efforts have been made to establish this form of government; but the protection of the crown of POLAND, under which it now is, and the animosities and intrigues of some of the citizens, rather throw them back than advance them in this point. I found the people here in great discord, occasioned by some arbitrary measures of the magistracy, which had been opposed by the burghers. The referring the affair to the court at WARSAW would infallibly subject both parties to a heavy expence, and weaken that degree of independency which they had long enjoyed<sup>i</sup>. As this city has been more than once in danger of becoming the prey of a conqueror, such feuds are so much more to the dishonour of the inhabitants.

<sup>i</sup> This affair was at length settled, but not without the expence of some thousands.



This town is above three ENGLISH miles in circumference, and well fortified with lofty works, and a double ditch of water; the part where it is weakest on the west side, can be easily laid under water. These works require 12 or 1500 men to perform the common duty of a guard; but the town at present cannot afford above 700. By the civil behaviour of these soldiers to strangers, one may easily observe a distinction between troops in the immediate pay of citizens, and of those under crowned heads.

Among the curiosities which engaged my attention most, was the great LUTHERAN church, which they reckon to be above 300 years old. The wars of GERMANY which at length established protestantism in this city, have not however much changed the face of this church, for it was agreed by treaties to leave it in the same manner as in the times of popery, as to crucifixes, images, and pictures, &c. They shew a very curious piece of painting on wood, being a representation of the resurrection, done by VAN EYCK, about the year 1400. It is much admired by all connoisseurs, particularly for the hands and faces. They say it is one of the first performances in oil colours: the colouring, by the strength of the varnish, is yet perfect, and so delicate that it will bear the nicest inspection. Our Saviour is here represented in judgment, with the sword of justice, and the laurel of peace. On each side of him are ranged the apostles; and below him, as upon the earth, the archangel MICHAEL in armour, supporting a ballance. On the side which preponderates, is a man with his throat cut, on the other the perpetrator of this act, whom the devils are ready to receive. They are supposed to have been two brothers, who were both painters, and that envy induced one to destroy the other. On the right side of the archangel MICHAEL are the blessed, of whom a great number are entering in procession into the gates of heaven, represented by all the most enlivened embellishments of architecture. The angels are hovering over the architraves of the columns; the serenity of the countenances on one side, and on the other the horror and despair, with the variety of figures of devils in hideous forms, render this piece very entertaining.

The



The arsenal contains a good collection of arms, but as in most places of the like nature, it has also many which are old and useless. They pretend to be masters of 150 large brass cannon, of which I saw some said to weigh each 15,000 lbs. The arms of this city are two crosses under a ducal crown supported by two lions.

Within the double works which defend the town, is a spacious walk, and a road for coaches; my curiosity carried me to the exterior parts to view the hillock, under which are deposited the bodies of near 5000 RUSSIANS, who in one morning fell by an obstinate attack commanded by count MUNICH. The DANTZIGERS in 1734, having espoused the cause of STANISLAUS in his competition with AUGUSTUS elector of SAXONY, procured a garrison of foreign troops to the number of 10,000 men. General LACY, who commanded the RUSSIAN troops which were sent in behalf of AUGUSTUS, knew the situation of the town, and that the point in view by no means required a great hazard of the RUSSIAN army, as the DANTZIGERS must necessarily submit and abandon STANISLAUS. The count however represented LACY to the RUSSIAN court as timorous and inactive, and desired the command of the army, engaging to take the town immediately; he was accordingly sent thither, and made the attack with as great fury, as he did afterwards in the TURKISH war at OTCZAKOW. In this attack at DANTZIG he was not constrained by any necessity, as in the other case: without the least breach being made, he marched his men over a ditch against a work near 30 feet high, almost perpendicular, and against a numerous and well ordered garrison; so that of a very considerable body only about half a dozen men ever mounted the rampart, and these were driven back immediately, the ditch being filled with dead bodies. This general has performed many feats of arms, and acquired a distinguished reputation; but it is generally thought he wanted one quality which is essential to the character of a great general, as well as a great man, I mean humanity and tenderness for his soldiers. They say that STANISLAUS was so much alarmed at these fierce attacks, that he was apprehensive of falling into the hands of the enemy, and that an



old POLISH lord obtained a pass for himself and his lady of the RUSSIAN general, and then gave it to the king, to whom he committed the care of his wife, by which means STANISLAUS made his escape without interruption.

### C H A P. XXIX.

*A general view of the trade of DANTZIG. The nature of their imports and exports. An account of the coins, weights and measures in use in that city.*

THE most considerable part of the trade of DANTZIG consists in corn, which the POLANDERS bring down the VISTULA in large struzes or barks, which carry in bulk about 50 tuns ENGLISH. These barks generally come down annually in very plentiful years to the number of 1600. They reckon by lafts of 11 ENGLISH quarters; the grain is small, but the red sort often sells for 180 POLISH gilders the laft, and rye about half this value. As these cargoes are often exposed to the weather, it is a custom to spread their sails on the banks of the river, and dry their corn on them. They also export bees wax annually to near 1000 schippounds, for which they often get the price of 300 gilders per schippound. Narrow linnens of about 21 inches broad, and facking of different qualities for bags and imbalage, are also exported to a great amount <sup>k</sup>; also pot-ash <sup>l</sup>, weed-ash <sup>m</sup>, and pearl-ash, this laft is calcined, and takes its name from its colour. Pipe-staves are also a considerable article, and oak-plank, of which the greatest part is 4 inches thick, 16 to 20 inches broad, and 50 feet long <sup>n</sup>. This species of timber will not stand the weather so well as ENGLISH oak, but under the water is esteemed equal.

They import iron from SWEDEN, to the quantity of 1500 or 2000 tuns, but of the woollens and other manufactures of ENGLAND, an inconsiderable quantity <sup>o</sup>. The laws of commerce are very strict to pre-

<sup>k</sup> Some say near 100,000 l. barrel of 360 lbs.

<sup>l</sup> Sold then at 50 f. per schippound.

<sup>m</sup> Sold at 22  $\frac{1}{2}$  f. per

<sup>n</sup> Of this near 30,000 l. value.

<sup>o</sup> See vol. I. p. 56.



vent one foreigner from selling to another, or to resell to any other burgher than to the person he bought of, which must necessarily cramp the trade very much. PETER the GREAT made a law to the same purpose for St. PETERSBURG, and it is yet unrepealed; but the government knows very well, that to enforce the execution must be extremely prejudicial, and contrary to the maxims of all wise states. Even in DANTZIG in the time of the FAIR, which fell out during my stay, all ranks and degrees of people are admitted free, to sell what, and to whom they please.

POLAND abounds in JEWS, said to be of the tribe of BENJAMIN: whatever tribe they are of, they appear as despicable as any people in the world; yet their acuteness and industry have given them an establishment, in which it is the interest both of the lords and the clergy to support them; for the trade which they carry on enables them to pay an interest of 10 per cent. per annum for large sums.

They keep their accounts here in guilders, grosch and phennigen, a ducat passing for 8 guilders 6 grosch.

THE CURRENT MONEY HERE IS

|    |                            |   |   |   |   |   |   |                  |
|----|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| 3  | Shillings, or 18 phennigen | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 grosch.        |
| 3  | Grosch                     | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 ditkin.        |
| 2  | Ditkins                    | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 fixer.         |
| 3  | Sixers                     | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 tymph.         |
| 7½ | Grosch                     | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 ach de halber. |
| 4  | Ach de halbers             | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 gilder.        |

A current dollar is 3 guilders, and a specie dollar 4 guilders.

Here are also half, whole, 2 guilders, and 4 guilders pieces, of which the last is a FRENCH crown of LEWIS XIV. esteemed the best money current, when they have not been in the hands of the JEWS. POLISH coin sells from 1 to 2 per cent. advance. The exchange is usually 280 to 290 grosch per pound FLEMISH BANCO. KOENIGSBURG draws in current money, 1 per mil, according to custom, being deducted.



## WEIGHT IN DANTZIG.

|            |   |   |                                                   |
|------------|---|---|---------------------------------------------------|
| 32 Lote    | — | — | 1 pound.                                          |
| 24 Pounds  | — | — | 1 small stone.                                    |
| 34 Dittos  | — | — | 1 large ditto.                                    |
| 120 Dittos | — | — | 1 centner.                                        |
| 320 Dittos | — | — | 1 schippound, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ hundreds ENGLISH. |

The weight is there 4 per cent. lighter than the ENGLISH. A last of corn is 60 sheffelt, but of malt 90.

## LONG MEASURE.

|                  |      |    |                 |
|------------------|------|----|-----------------|
| 12 Inches        | —    | —  | 1 foot.         |
| 2 Feet           | —    | —  | 1 ell.          |
| 102 Ells DANTZIG | make | 50 | ells ENGLISH.   |
| 6 Dittos         | —    | —  | 5 BRABANT ells. |

The whole amount of the trade here is ordinarily computed twelve millions of current dollars, on which the duties are about 7 or 8 per cent. One half is called the revenues of the crown, the other the property of the city. This duty is paid in alberts rix dollars of 4 gilders.

## C H A P. XXX.

*The author leaves DANTZIG, and travels through POMERANIA to BERLIN.*

HAVING passed a week agreeably in DANTZIG and provided a chariot, I took leave of my friends. The territories of this city westward extend between 2 and 3 GERMAN miles<sup>p</sup>: I passed by the convent of OLIVA, which is two miles from DANTZIG, and famous for the treaty of 1660, when CHARLES GUSTAVUS of SWEDEN had made a conquest of almost all POLAND<sup>q</sup>. The country thus far is agree-

<sup>p</sup> These computed GERMAN miles are in some places 4, in others 5 miles ENGLISH: the miles which I mention in the prosecution of this work are GERMAN miles. <sup>q</sup> His son CHARLES XI. made the peace just after the death of his father.



Chap. XXX. JOURNEY FROM DANTZIG TO BERLIN. 181

able, though the soil seems to be very mean. We passed through a small tract of POLISH PRUSSIA, where the road is exceeding bad, and the inhabitants poor to a degree of misery.

At DUNEMORSE, which is five miles from DANTZIG, we entered PRUSSIAN POMERANIA, where the face of things begins to change much for the better. From thence we travelled on to WUTZEN, five miles farther: from thence we advanced into PRUSSIAN POMERANIA to LUPPOW, and passing through several forests of shrub oaks, we proceeded three miles further to STOLPE. This is a small city, but full of houses, and surrounded with corn and meadow lands, where the inhabitants seem to wear their chains with great cheerfulness and elegance. The common people have a little smattering of the FRENCH language. In this place were quartered three squadrons, each of 100 HUSSARS. In entering, as well as going out of this town, I was questioned from whence I came, my business, and where I was going: this is practised to all travellers in all the towns through the PRUSSIAN dominions; and as it is performed in a regular manner, it serves, among other good politics, to support a greater sense of watchfulness and military discipline.

From STOLPE to SCHLAVE is three miles, over an open pleasant country of arable lands indifferently well inhabited; but the soil through all this country is sandy, so that it can produce but slender crops. The peasants however enjoy the advantage of working their lands with less labour. In this place were quartered 100 HUSSARS.

From SCHLAVE to COESLIN is five miles, the road being agreeable in all respects except the sands. This place was not many years since burnt down, and is now rebuilt with elegance and regularity, but with great parsimony, which indeed the circumstances of the people render absolutely necessary. In the market place is a stone statue of the late king. From COESLIN to KOERLIN is three miles, and thence to PINNOW four.

The 2d of August I arrived at NEUGERTEN, 4 miles further; here I found no HUSSARS as in the other towns, but a company of dragoons. The weather was disagreeably hot, or my inclinations would have carried



me to STETIN, the trade of which is considerably increased since the present king came to the throne. Merchandise is from thence carried up the ODER to BRESLAU and other places. I left it about five miles to the south west, and passing through MASSOU, I travelled four long miles to STARGARD, the metropolis of PRUSSIAN POMERANIA. In this place there is a cathedral church of great antiquity, built of brick: there are also three reformed churches, in one of which the service is performed in FRENCH every Sunday. Here all appeals are made by the several districts of the country, not under the immediate jurisdiction of the magistracies of the different towns. In this place was quartered a regiment of infantry, commanded by prince MAURICE D'ANHALT, which made a fine appearance. From thence to PYRITZ is three miles. This town is surrounded by an ancient fortification, and has a very large brick church; here were quartered five companies of the BRUNSWICK regiment.

The 3d, I arrived at KOENINSBURG, a small town on the ODER, it has a very pompous church, embellished by the late king at a considerable expence, with a fine organ, and several images of the apostles and angels. From thence I travelled three miles to ANGERMUND, passing over the ODER on a bridge of timber. On the north bank is a stately palace and garden of the margrave of SCHWEDT, with a very neat town of the same name adjacent. The avenue to the bridge and town is thrown up between meadow lands, paved and planted on each side with willows, as the other side is with wild chestnuts, which intercept the view of corn and tobacco fields. Near this place I passed by the bodies of two malefactors who had been broken on the wheel: I observed near every town a gallows erected on an eminence; but the good government of this country renders executions very rare.

The palace of the margrave makes the more striking figure, as it is the only object which has the appearance of grandeur or taste, in the road quite from DANTZIG; for in this country, men of family and fortune all flock to court, and the great article of agriculture, which is the source of their support, derives no improvement from their personal attendance.

The









*The Statue of Frederick the 1<sup>st</sup> at Berlin.*



The 4th, I went from ANGERMUND to NEUST EBERSWALD, three miles : the roads are extremely heavy with sand. From thence to BERNAU three miles : here, as in NEUST EBERSWALD, were five companies of soldiers. This last place has a very large church built with brick, said to be 800 years old.\* From BERNAU to BERLIN is three miles ; near this capital the face of things improves, but in no eminent degree : here are no inclosures to beautify the prospect, nor soil to exhibit that perpetual verdure which ENGLAND enjoys. From DANTZIG to BERLIN is 57 GERMAN miles, which are ordinarily computed equal to 250 ENGLISH miles.

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## C H A P. XXXI.

*The author arrives at BERLIN. Great preparations for amusement. Several learned men at the PRUSSIAN court. A short account of the palace. The king's library and cabinet of curiosities. ROMISH chapel. Palace of MON BIJOUX, &c.*

THE entrance into BERLIN is airy and elegant ; the streets are regular and clean, and the houses uniform. In going towards the palace on the PONT-NEUF, or new bridge of stone which is over the SPREE, is the equestrian statue of FREDERICK WILLIAM the GREAT, which is esteemed a piece of exquisite workmanship ; it was erected by FREDERICK I. king of PRUSSIA, who also built the palace, the magnificence of which strikes very much. A soldier attended me from the gates to my lodging, according to custom, in order to examine my baggage.

Amusement being the idol of mankind, especially in courts and great towns, I was not surprized to find this city full of busy, pleasant countenances. The king was preparing some grand spectacles for the entertainment of FREDERICK margrave of BARREITH, who is married to his eldest sister, and of FREDERICK WILLIAM, margrave of SCHWÉDT, who is married to his fourth sister ; these two princes and their consorts were the king's guests.

There

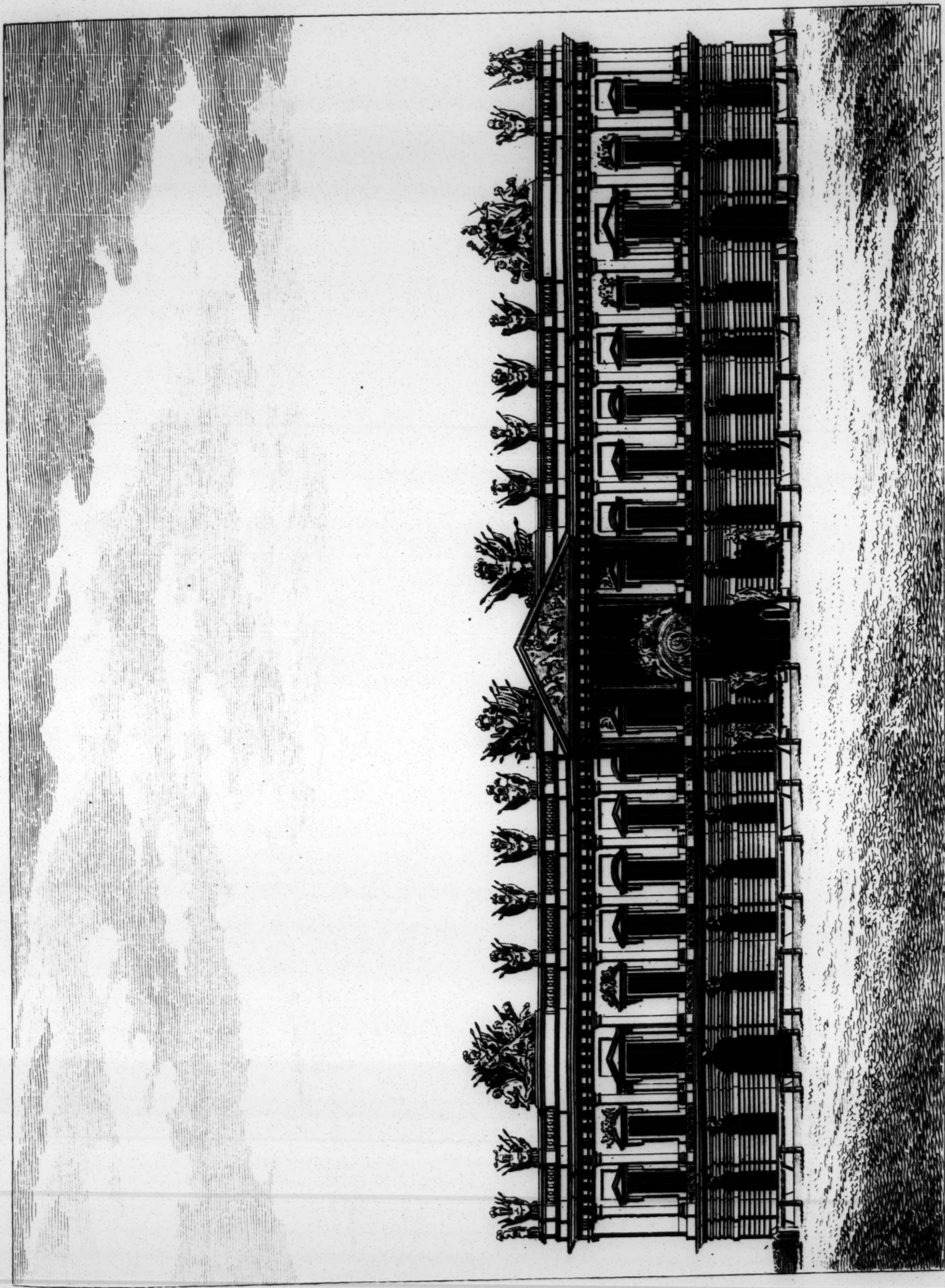


There were several persons here whose fame for learning and polite literature has been spread over EUROPE: among these was VOLTAIRE, whose allegiance as a subject, the king of FRANCE has yielded to his PRUSSIAN majesty. The liberal praises he had bestowed on the ENGLISH nation were now suppressed, as not likely to advance his interest at the PRUSSIAN court<sup>a</sup>. Baron POLNITZ, author of the memoirs<sup>r</sup> known by his name, was also there; likewise PELLOUTIER, author of the history of the CELTES<sup>f</sup>. But no person among the literati is more amiable than doctor LIEBERKYN, with whom I had the honour of being intimately acquainted; he is distinguished for his great skill in physic and natural philosophy, which he learnt mostly in ENGLAND and HOLLAND. He has also studied anatomy with indefatigable industry, and with a large and unpromising hand, has performed the nicest things imaginable in the fine parts of the body, by injecting them with red wax; but his disinterested practice, the humanity and tenderness which he has always shewn his patients, and his great charity to the poor, render him the minion of the people: notwithstanding this they do not reward his merits, even making allowance for the great difference between ENGLAND and PRUSSIA. As a proof of the esteem in which the doctor is at court, though in reality no courtier: the king speaking of him once to the FRENCH minister, used these words, "You may speak ill of me, and possibly be heard favourably, but no body will hear LIEBERKYN's name mentioned with reproach." Among many persons of distinguished abilities, the king has brought from PARIS Mr. SCHMIDT, one of his own subjects, who in the art of engraving has hardly a superior.

With regard to the curiosities of BERLIN, the first object that strikes one is the king's palace<sup>t</sup>, one of the sides of the interior square of this building is no ways equal to the rest, being the old apartment once inhabited by the king's grandfather, which has not been yet rebuilt, as was intended, when the plan of this superb structure was formed. The walls of the grand front are

<sup>a</sup> He has however made honourable mention of the ENGLISH, in his late piece called the age of LEWIS XIV. <sup>r</sup> These memoirs give a good idea of the persons most distinguished in EUROPEAN courts 20 years ago. <sup>f</sup> Antient BRITONS, who transplanted themselves from this island into BRITAINY, and to this day retain much the same language as the WELCH. <sup>t</sup> They call it the CHATEAU, or castle.





*The Arsenal at Berlin.*







not less than 7 or 8 feet thick, so that the rooms not receiving sufficient light from the windows, are shown to great disadvantage.

'Tis a pleasure to observe the great œconomy of this court, as well that which has prevailed in former times, as in the present reign: the apartments in the palace are adorned with silver in every shape, but so massy that the fashion of it comes to no more than 7 per cent. so that about four millions of dollars might be realized with great ease whenever the exigencies of the state should require. Here is the picture of CHARLES V. and his empress, the frames of which are of silver, each weighing six centners<sup>u</sup>: and there is a grand crown lustre of 17 centners. There are also pieces of three, four or five centners, to the number of above 150; likewise a music gallery adorned in a grand taste all of silver; and one end of a large apartment for about 20 feet high and as many broad, is richly furnished with gilded plate. All this is merely or parade; the court has other services of plate for use.

The king's particular apartments, though elegant, have nothing extraordinary, the prevailing taste is white stoco and gilding. The picture of signiora BARBERINI is in several of the chambers, more I believe for the love he bore her as a fine dancer than as a woman; for she no sooner gave herself the airs peculiar to people of her profession, than he convinced her that his heart was possessed by objects of a more important nature, leaving her to pursue her own pleasure. Several of the private apartments have tables, with pens, ink, and loose papers, which indicate the dispatch of business, more than the regularity and elegance one naturally expects to find in a royal palace. The hall has several good paintings, and the grand salloon is adorned with four pieces of tapestry, representing our saviour driving out the money-changers, his washing of feet, the draught of fish, and his last supper. The throne in the audience chamber is of velvet, embroidered with gold, in a grand taste, but not loaded with ornaments. There is nothing extraordinary in any of the apartments of the old quarter of the palace, except a bed of crimson velvet, which has above two hundred cyphers with electoral crowns, all

<sup>u</sup> A centner is 110 pounds.



set with pearls ; the chairs in the room are in the same taste. In this bed it is usual to lodge persons of the royal blood on their marriage night. The arsenal forms one side of the palace, and is an elegant structure, but it has rather too great a profusion of ornaments : it is said to be well furnished, however as great part of the arms were sent into SILESIA; and I must have gone through some troublesome ceremonies, I declined visiting it.

From the palace I went to the library, which would be deemed a mean apartment for a common school. Those who make the appearance of gentlemen have the liberty to read there from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon. Here is a collection of bibles, to the number of 500 of different languages and editions. SAURENS paraphrase of the bible in FRENCH is also here in five volumes folio, compleated by BEAUSOBRE in the UNITED PROVINCES ; it has fine copper plates, and is a work much esteemed. The first volume has the arms of ENGLAND, having been presented by king GEORGE I. to his late PRUSSIAN majesty. Among many others they show the identical bible which CHARLES I. used when he was beheaded ; it was given as a kind of relic by doctor JUXTON to the elector of BRANDENBURG. There is also the first bible ever printed in AMERICA, and one of 1450, the first printed in the GERMAN language. They also show the khoran in manuscript in a small octagon, the character so minute, and the paper so thin as to form only the bulk of one inch and a half ; besides several folio manuscripts on religion, morals, politics, &c. said to have been composed by cardinal MAZARIN.

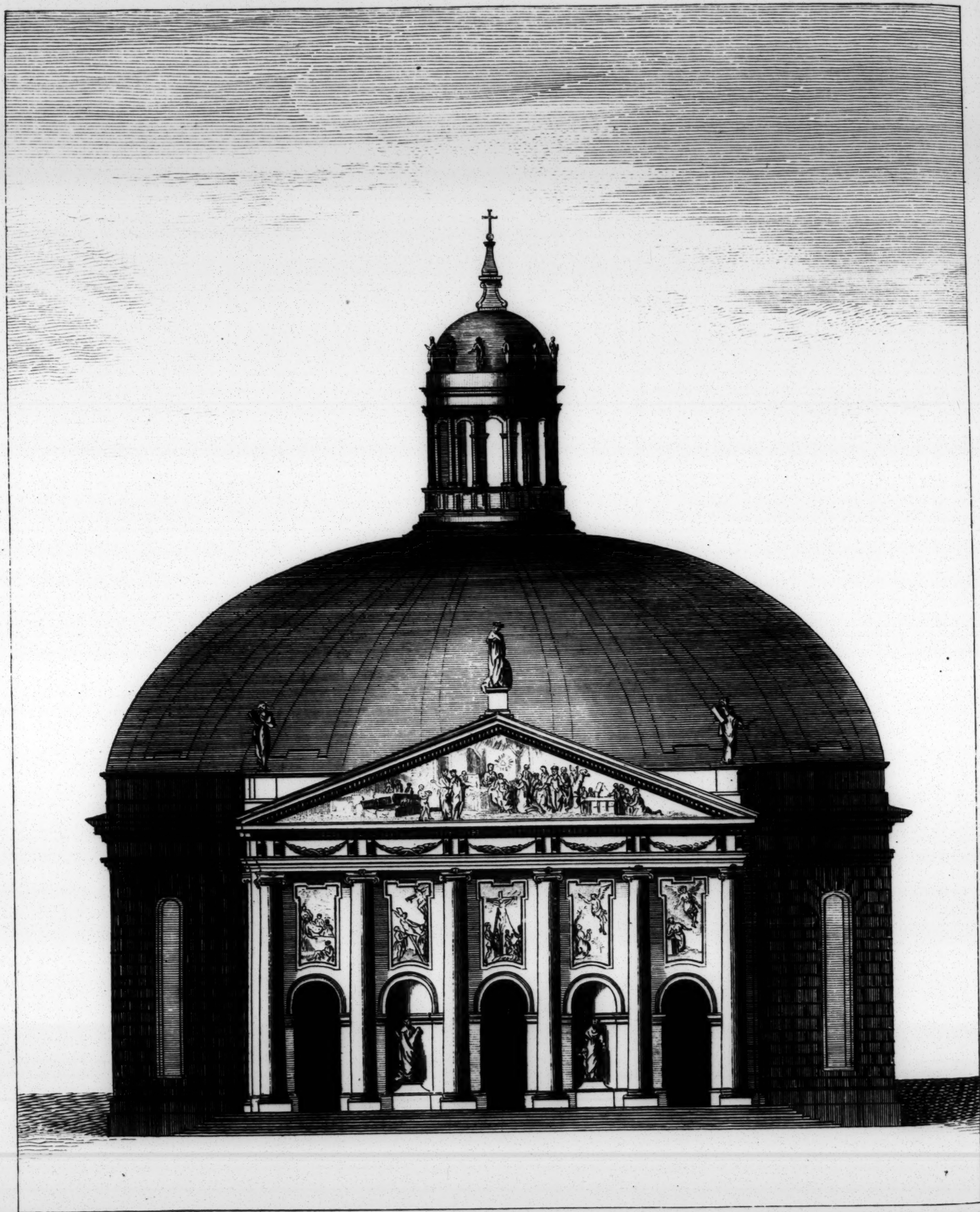
The cabinet of curiosities contains very few distinguished rarities ; the most remarkable, as they appeared to me, are the following : a marble cupid much admired : two cannon balls, which meeting in the air, the warmth of the iron <sup>a</sup>, and the violence of their motion, united them together : an oak with stag's horns ; the stag having been hunted with great violence, ran his horns into a young tree, and there expired ; and the tree growing, the horns at length appeared as a natural production.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps they were made hot, as is sometimes practised, if it is really fact that they met and joined.









*The Romish Chapel at Berlin.*



As there is no art but the king affects some knowledge of it, the new chapel was designed by himself: it is neat and commodious, but too low to be either grand or elegant. The pulpit is in the modern grotesque taste, and too lofty for the height of the building. The roof is supported by a double row of pillars, which dividing the chapel increase the appearance of its length. This place is intended as a royal sepulchre, and has already some tombs of the king's predecessors. The ROMISH chapel so much talked of in all protestant countries, was not near completed, the fund being almost exhausted. As we make our hospitals more grand than our palaces, the ROMANISTS generally make their churches built by charity, the most magnificent of any other. This structure is not large, but richly ornamented.

MON BIJOU is appointed for the residence of the queen mother, who is a sister of his majesty the king of GREAT BRITAIN. This is a little palace on the SPREE, the apartments of which are small, but elegantly furnished. There is a pretty gallery of blue and white CHINA porcelain, and an apartment called the kitchen, with several rich pieces of SAXON porcelain. The queen mother being now in her 64th year, spends a great part of her time in her study, and has a good collection of books. The object that strikes the eye most in this little palace, is the picture of a lady, called LA BELLE PARISSIENE; her adventures may be best known by the novel under the same name. It is certain her charms captivated the heart of a great prince, whose memory is revered by the BRITISH nation. The gardens of this palace are small, but proportioned to the size of the building.

The most elegant modern edifice is the opera house; the scenes are splendid, and of an exquisite taste, but the want of a painted cieling and other standing ornaments, render the interior part less pompous than the exterior. The pillars which support the roof, and are calculated to throw the whole into a grand salloon, are apt to obstruct the movements of the scenes. It has three galleries, and is reckoned to contain above 2000 persons. The orchestra consists of about 50 musicians, the pay of which is moderate. The king is more liberal to the ITALIAN sing-



ers, of whom he had nine or ten; ASTRUA and SALEMBENE were the most distinguished; but neither of them will amass a ministerial estate, as some of their profession have done in OTHER COUNTRIES, which however are now grown wiser. This amusement is entirely supported at the king's expence, and in some degree rendered subservient to the ends of his government. Among other good politics, he has learnt the art of rendering himself acceptable more by a polite address than a profusion of expence. When ASTRUA first sang before him, he asked what her salary was, she told him 3,500 dollars, "Indeed, said he, madam, such singing as yours well deserves 4000," and accordingly he ordered this appointment.

The extreme delight which the king takes in music, and the great personal knowledge he has of that science, have carried this entertainment to a great perfection. The dresses, the scenes, and the machinery in the opera of PHAETON, were indeed most elegant and magnificent. In the upper galleries on each side of the stage six trumpeters are seated, who salute the queen consort and the queen mother when they enter the house or retire, with this martial music, which heightens the pomp and cheerfulness of the entertainment; but the king himself who acts in a sphere superior to the rules of pompous ceremony, excuses this salutation to his own person.

I have already observed, that this season was devoted to amusement; which lasted about ten days; in this time several operas, concerts, and masquerades were exhibited; but the most distinguished was the CARROUSEL<sup>w</sup>, the expence of which amounted to 70,000 crowns. This splendid show fell in with the taste of several young persons of distinction then at court, and did not much affect the king's pocket. The institution of tilts and tournaments, seems calculated to raise an emulation to excel in horsemanship, and in the use of the spear and sword; which is indeed promoting a sense of military glory. This entertainment consisted of quadrilles, or four companies, in the dresses of ROMANS,

<sup>w</sup> LEWIS XIV. made a splendid entertainment of this sort in 1662, in the habits of TURKS, INDIANS, ROMANS, PERSIANS and AMERICANS, of which VOLTAIRE makes mention.





*The Theatre at Berlin.*







CARTHAGINIANS, GRECIANS and PERSIANS, all mounted on horses richly caparisoned in the same manner, each party being composed of six combatants; the first was conducted by AUGUSTUS WILLIAM, the prince of PRUSSIA, the other three by his two brothers\*, and the margrave the king's cousin. They had also the arms of the several nations, and were followed each by a band of music proper to the respective countries, and habited and attended after the same manner. The procession of the whole made a splendid figure, though in my judgment it was only of the theatrical kind, for I saw but little of the pride and beauty of horses, or horsemanship; nor was the area allotted for this entertainment half big enough. What rendered the first trial ridiculous, was its being exhibited by the light of lamps, the greatest part of which were blown out by the wind: however this inconvenience was remedied in the repetition which was shown in broad day, and the prizes allotted to those who were judged to perform best, without any other bloodshed, than that of prince LOBKOWITZ cutting his toe with his own sword.

A mock battle was afterwards fought, which was incomparably a more grand entertainment. Four thousand men having marched out in the morning early about a GERMAN mile from the city, near the village BRITZ, were followed by another detachment of the same number: the HUSSARS and CUIRASSIERS had several skirmishes on the way. Both armies plied their field artillery warmly; at length a rivulet was passed, a wood was attacked, and the enemy driven from it to a village, which was carried sword in hand. After this they went through all the various evolutions and exercises of both cavalry and infantry, as might be supposed in a real engagement, changing their positions on a tract of about two ENGLISH miles, during the space of three hours. At this show almost the whole city of BERLIN was present.

\* FREDERICK HENRY LEWIS, and AUGUSTUS FERDINAND, and FREDERICK WILLIAM margrave of BRANDENBURG SCHWEDT



## C H A P. XXXII.

*Reflections on courting the acquaintance of the great. Remarks on the conduct of ENGLISH travellers abroad. Some account of field marshal KEITH. A short description of the city of BERLIN. The number, industry, and temper of the inhabitants. Their coins, exchange, &c.*

THE conduct of princes as well as of private men, is subject to be directed by personal prejudices: of this we have an instance in the disagreement between the courts of LONDON and BERLIN. It was observed that lord MALTON<sup>b</sup>, who arrived in BERLIN at this time, did not receive that distinguished civility which was due to his quality and merit; if we measure it by that familiar conversation, which is usual at the PRUSSIAN court from the king himself. The queen mother was indeed extremely courteous to his lordship, as well as to Mr. WATSON, and not less to their companion, the agreeable and humane colonel FORRESTER.

This young nobleman being remarkably sober, and his character in all respects very amiable, I thought it my duty, especially as he was in the same inn, to pay him and his companions my respects, and they were so polite as to return my visit. I cannot say however that I approve of the conduct of those who are forward in courting great acquaintances, of whom they stand in no need; on the contrary this incident afforded me an occasion of reflecting what strangers some men are to their own happiness and dignity, who are contented to be little among the great, in hopes of being great among the little, especially such as launch into a dangerous expence on this account. Men of high birth and large fortunes, who are also distinguished for politeness of manners and improved understandings, become indeed a kind of oracles; but the enjoyment of their company by persons in another sphere, should be considered as a feast not sought for, but to which we might occasionally accept an invitation. Gentle passions and moderate enjoyments in the track of religion and common sense, are things always within our reach, and certainly productive of the end we aim at. What a folly is it then to run hazards

<sup>b</sup> Now marquis of ROCKINGHAM.



in search of the mere shadow of felicity? The generality of those who figure in the highest ranks of life, by an almost necessary consequence have their titles and estates ingrafted into their thoughts; nor can they with more consistency converse with those who are neither dignified with titles, nor equal to them in fortune, than the learned can be supposed fond of the conversation of the illiterate; though there are doubtless many exceptions. Men who know the world and themselves, should consider how far the admonition<sup>y</sup> of a very wise man on this subject is as true now as it was 2000 years ago. Under absolute monarchs, the nobles, though slaves, partake of a despotic authority, and are often disposed to insolence; when the proudest noble in a free country can be better held within bounds. In such a nation one common freedom creates a certain equality, which ought to be deemed more valuable than the distinctions of fortune or title. Though the admonition I have just referred to, seems to teach a lesson for the ordinary œconomy of human life, yet it ought by no means to create any general prejudices; because persons of the highest distinction differ from others of the same rank, in probity, politeness, and humanity, as men of lower conditions do from persons of their level. The essential quality of characters depends not on titles or great estates; these indeed, like a rich jewel set with art and elegance, give virtue a lustre, which in the eyes of common mortals, would not appear so well through any other medium; therefore they are useful to the society in this respect, as well as from the due subordination arising from them. I remember an advertisement for the sale of a house, which the proprietor thought to recommend by its neighbourhood to a lord; whilst another published his, as entitled to a preference, because it was twenty miles distant from the habitation of any nobleman. Perhaps they were both equally mistaken if they intended to give any instruction.

With regard to ENGLISH travellers, it has been generally remarked, that few people in the world are more deficient in politeness and mutual regards as countrymen, when they accidentally meet abroad; whilst the SCOTS shew a particular affection to each other, sometimes even to excite a jealousy a little injurious to the common interest of both nations.

<sup>y</sup> Thirteenth chapter of Ecclesiasticus.



We are indeed but one and the same people: I am not able to separate the idea by any other reflection than that which I have just mentioned. Their conduct naturally arises from their circumstances, as being the lesser nation of the two, and not so affluent in point of wealth. It ought to be presumed also, that when the distinction shall be more lost, their conduct at large will be as generous as it has been political. We may hope that industry and arts will be encouraged amongst them so as to render them in no respects inferior to the inhabitants of the other parts of the island. It is plain they excel in a national affection for each other: nor do their colder regions disqualify them for friendship, as I know by experience.

As to the indifference of the ENGLISH, it may arise from a national pride, from a reserve peculiar to us, or perhaps from that general commerce we have in all parts of the world, which makes us always at home, or in fine from a jealousy of making acquaintance abroad which we do not chuse to continue at home. Whatever the cause or effect may be, it seems a duty upon the principle of national policy, to take every favourable opportunity of shewing a proper respect abroad to those who are most distinguished at home; for this plain reason, that foreigners must conceive a mean opinion of our union and national love, from whence our importance is supposed to be in some measure derived, when they observe that we show no sort of regard for one another.

I had more than once the mortification of hearing stories to the disadvantage of some of our countrymen of fortune who travel for improvement. I knew an instance of one who was recommended to a certain merchant of very great consequence: this youth came to him late at night, and, with a certain fierceness peculiar to young men who have more money than politeness, demanded the adjustment of his accounts. The merchant very courteously desired him to wait till the morning, "no," says the young man, "I must go instantly out of this damn'd country of HOLLAND, for I hate the DUTCH most damnably." The merchant, who was himself a DUTCHMAN, said to him, "Pray, Sir, why do you hate the DUTCH, have you any particular reason?" "No, replied



“plied the young gentleman, but I hate them damnably; I believe the “hatred was born with me.” But in opposition to this instance, we must do ourselves the justice to observe, that no nation produces such a contrast of characters as ENGLAND; for many of our travellers are distinguished abroad as men of learning and humanity, possessed of true politeness and generosity of spirit, above the people of any country in the world.

The custom of BERLIN, joined to the motive of a small acquaintance in RUSSIA, induced me to wait on field marshal KEITH, the governor of that city, who received me with that politeness for which he has been always distinguished. This nobleman’s leaving the RUSSIAN service, and going into that of PRUSSIA made some noise in the political world. To enter into the reasons of his conduct is not my business; but it seems very easy to reconcile, if we consider his genius and principles, and the previous assurances which it is probable he received, of that kind reception which he has experienced in BRANDENBURG. It is presumed that he is not so happy as to entertain the same sentiments in every respect of the lawful sovereign of this country<sup>2</sup>, as every unprejudiced person must adopt, whether at home or abroad; yet from his own natural good sense and discernment, he treated the rebellion, even at its height, as immeasurably rash and extravagant, and those unhappy men who embarked in it, as plunging themselves into a gulph of misery: a truth which they very soon felt, the least wretched of them seeing themselves, as they ever will see themselves, the dupes of their foreign pretended friends.

I have already mentioned the conduct of count MUNICH: his desperate enterprize at OTCHAKOW was warmly opposed by field marshal KEITH, who then served in the RUSSIAN army under that general, and was ordered upon the attack: a lucky ball on the first onset taking his knee, he was lamed on this occasion, and carried off that scene of slaughter. This general enters deeply and faithfully into the service of his master the king, in commercial as well as military affairs; and the

<sup>2</sup> GREAT BRITAIN.



king knows how to acknowledge his services. Whether he was a secret spring of the EMBDEN scheme, as some say, I know not; but it is certain he is a great encourager of manufactories. During this visit I had an opportunity of seeing a specimen of PRUSSIAN military discipline: a common soldier, without any notice, came into the field marshal's presence, and presenting his arms in form, delivered a paper. The field marshal bid me take notice of the exactness of their discipline, which he himself confirmed by his instant obedience of the summons.

Several incidents having given mutual offence to the courts of St. PETERSBURG and BERLIN, many in both countries frightened themselves with a notion that these two powers would engage in a war, especially if the SWEDES should fall into the same ideas as the PRUSSIANS; but this seemed to be but mere talk. The RUSSIANS would hardly make any offensive war against and the king of PRUSSIA; and this prince is too wise to engage in a war, where he has no prospect of advantage. Besides there is a moral certainty that such a step would bring the house of AUSTRIA on his back, whilst the RUSSIANS might in the issue be too hard for him, by the superiority of their numbers, even though they should lose a battle or two. The PRUSSIAN dominions are open and unguarded, and might easily be laid waste by the TARTARS and COSSACKS in the RUSSIAN service: for this and other like reasons it may be, that his PRUSSIAN majesty supports so numerous a body of HUSSARS.

The city of BERLIN has a regular fortification, though not very formidable. The frequent wars which happen in GERMANY seem to render it an essential article to fortify the capitals of sovereign princes, not only as the residence of their courts, but as the place in which a very great portion of their wealth centers.

Strangers remark, that BERLIN is a little PARIS, the FRENCH language being almost as well understood as the GERMAN. This city abounds in elegant structures and regular streets, and is computed near one third as big as LONDON, yet it has not above one eighth part of the inhabitants; from



from whence it may be easily accounted why grass is found growing in many of their capital streets. The inhabitants were formerly computed at 80,000; now they are reckoned 110,000, including the garrison of 10,000: all the PRUSSIAN dominions, SILESIA excepted, hardly contain two millions of people.

This acquisition of 20,000 inhabitants and subjects is imputed to the good conduct of the king, in granting privileges and lands, sufficient to induce many to establish themselves in this capital; and considering this country is so extremely despotic, and military, without any foreign trade, and surrounded by neighbours who want little or nothing of them, manufactories here may be said to flourish. They make woollen cloth sufficient for the army and great part of their home consumption; and SILESIA is well known to produce a great supply of linnens, which are sent all over EUROPE and also to AMERICA. Their export of woollen cloth to RUSSIA, was once considerable, but at present is very small. So many thousands of FRENCH manufacturers having found protection in this country, gold and silver lace, and wrought silks are hardly to be bought in any place so cheap: they talk of prohibiting those of FRANCE.

Humanly speaking, nothing is superior to industry. We often find that things which appear contrary to nature, are brought to perfection by perseverance and labour. Indeed I was surprized to learn, that the ENVIRONS of BERLIN produced 400 lbs. weight of raw silk; and some of the courtiers who espoused commercial schemes most, flattered themselves that the climate would admit of a large production of this kind; to me it appears next to impossible: and though the king has taken the manufactories of silk into his own hands; still this does not promise that success which they expect. Some of the people most interested this way, endeavoured to persuade me, that whilst we were debating in ENGLAND about the reduction of duties on CHINA raw silk, the FRENCH had taken their measures to monopolize this commodity in that empire<sup>b</sup>; and it was

\* The event seems to prove that they were very much mistaken.



not difficult to discern from hence how much they incline to the FRENCH interest, whilst the FRENCH secretly wish to see the wings of the PRUSSIAN eagle clipt.

The exchange in BERLIN is ordinarily about 134 of their dollars for 100 rix dollars in AMSTERDAM. They keep their accounts in dollars, goede groschin, and phenigen.

18 Phenigen — — — — — 1 goede groschin.

24 Goede groschin — — — — — 1 dollar.

They reckon 5 dollars to a louis d'or, and 6 dollars 1 ENGLISH guinea,  $2\frac{2}{3}$  dollars 1 ducat full weight.

The people here were extremely distressed with variety of coins, some of which were very base; but the king has found means to run off a great part of it, and establish the currency of his own coin only, in order to have a large supply for the benefit of trade, and the security of his subjects property.

### C H A P. XXXIII.

*Reflections on the characters of princes. Early genius of the king of PRUSSIA. A general view of his disposition. A description of his person and manner of life. Some familiar stories relating to him. His great taste and delight in music.*

IT is a task delicate, if not daring, to attempt, during the lives of princes, to draw even the outlines of their characters. Men are never without blemishes, which, to correct in themselves and others, is the important business of life: but the dastardly fears, or vicious self-love of the guardians and teachers of princes, have often prevented the growth of those virtues in men born to empire, which might truly constitute them the vicegerents of the Almighty, and make the world happy. The enormous power vested in some princes, which they often direct as thunderbolts at the heads of their own subjects; or, what is as bad, at the heads of other nations, would certainly be employed in another manner; if their minds were more improved, and their hearts better directed

to



to objects worthy their rank as men, as well as kings. But instead of inspiring princes from their infancy, with those godlike sentiments of mercy and benevolence, which ought to be inseparable from power and command; how often are their propensities to evil nourished till they take root too deep to be extirpated! Thus it happens, that kings considered simply as men, are sometimes great objects of compassion.

In countries where men have EXCLUDED THEMSELVES from the common bounty of providence, and groan under an arbitrary power, though the prince had as many vices as drew down fire on SODOM, it is not uncommon to amuse him with flattering appellations, as if he had virtues enough to translate him to heaven: though at the same time nothing can be more obvious than this, that true greatness of mind would add to their glory more than all the external accidents of royalty.

In the happy island of GREAT BRITAIN we think like men; we know how to value the virtues of a prince, but we dare also to speak of their vices, whenever they become hurtful to the state. This privilege does indeed deceive some into a behaviour inconsistent with sound politics and true religion: forgetting the respect that is due to the supreme magistrate, they convert the blessing into a curse. As in friendship between man and man, we can with no consistency allow ourselves to speak of the failings of others without great tenderness; so with regard to princes, though we keep within the letter of the law, a wanton indulgence of our tongues must weaken that love and respect, which is the most solid foundation of subordination. Nor ought this to be deemed too nice a distinction or comparison, much less productive of that blind homage which prepares men's minds for slavery. In private life friendship can subsist no longer than men are kept within certain bounds; it ceases as soon as they arrive to a certain degree of viciousness; so I imagine will the love of subjects towards princes, for human nature being still the same, virtue will for ever be the object which we love and revere. The virtues or vices of princes, as of private men, must ever render them amicable or ungrateful to their subjects; but if we look into the history of mankind, and  
see



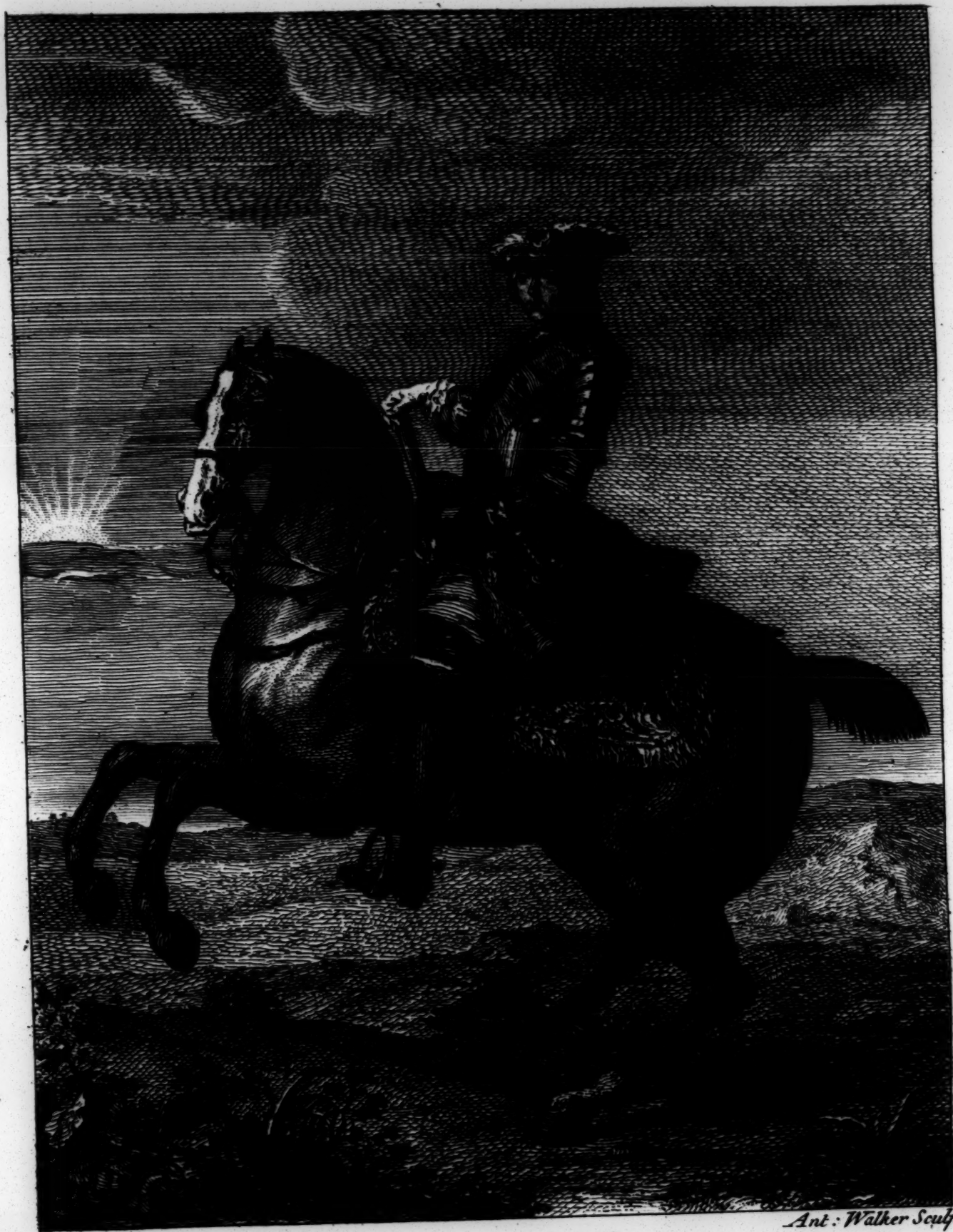
see how nations have been afflicted by the very governments which they established for their support, and how depraved human nature is; that country has great cause to be thankful, whose sovereign, whether his power is limited or despotic, has but FEW vices injurious to the community; and whose conduct in general is calculated for the support and happiness of his people.

Thus far in excuse of what I shall say of the king of PRUSSIA. This prince is said to be no friend to GREAT BRITAIN, according to the present system of politics, nor may his conduct be in every respect justifiable, yet I think he deserves great encomiums. There is a pleasure in praising the worthy whether they happen to be our friends or not. FREDERICK II. king of PRUSSIA and elector of BRANDENBURG, was born the 24th of January 1712<sup>c</sup>, and began his reign the 31st of May 1740; so that he was 28 years of age when his father died. He had an early taste of literature and polite arts, and shewed a particular passion for FRENCH breeding and delicacy of manners, in opposition to the inelegant customs which prevailed at his father's court. It is well known that the late king was a lover of drinking, a vice which in few countries is more familiar than in GERMANY. The prince abominated this vice, and particularly the custom of swallowing large draughts of malt liquor. This and other correspondent circumstances at length determined him to leave his father in a secret manner, and go, as it was said he intended, to the BRITISH court; but the attempt was frustrated, and cost an unhappy gentleman his head.

It is a doctrine which princes do not subscribe to in theory, that strength and power are the best rights of the sovereignties of countries; but I believe it will be found upon experience, that more kings are kept in awe by the combinations which are formed to restrain each other's passions, and support an independency; than by a sense of moral duties arising from the

<sup>c</sup> Son of FREDERICK WILLIAM, by SOPHIA DOROTHEA, the present queen dowager, who is sister of his majesty king GEORGE II. As this prince has hardly ever sat for his picture, it is rare to see a good likeness of him; the plate annexed gives a tolerable idea of his person, dress, and air, though he is made too young.





*Ant. Walker Sculp.*

*The King of Prussia.*







common rights of mankind, as founded in their original constitutions. Whenever a nation is involved in any deep calamity, we may generally observe, that more states are disposed to distress it farther, than to relieve it. If princes reap advantages from the misfortunes in which they see their neighbours involved, when there is no other reason for their conduct but the greater hopes of success; may they not be compared to those who find the best opportunity to steal when an house is in flames? It will not follow from any thing I have said, that the king of PRUSSIA had no right to his conquest of SILESIA: that he has conquered it is most certain, and we must leave to historians and casuists to determine whether the action was just or not.

When princes are really god's vicegerents, religion must be the basis of their government and politics: what notions the prince in question has adopted, I know not; he is reputed by many a free-thinker in the worst sense of the word; but the rule of his government, and his superiority to the vanities and mean gratifications of life, does not favour so harsh a judgment. So far from adopting MACHIAVELIAN principles, the ANTE-MACHIAVEL is said to have been wrote by him, or his favourite VOLTAIRE, in confutation of those maxims which ridicule a strict adherence to equity, and a disinterested love of mankind. It is a sad truth however, that in general men of great parts, and particularly those in eminent life, affecting to move in a higher sphere than common people, and by the force of their genius to pry into things which the author of nature never intended should be the objects of human reason, do often fall into grosser delusions than the vulgar. Men of this stamp observing the infinite variety of modes of faith and forms of worship in the world, together with a long list of vulgar errors, which in different ages and countries have obtained advocates, are led into a persuasion that many distinctions which are commonly considered as of eternal importance, are of no other consequence than as political engines of government.

One might be tempted to think, that commercial projects in a country so entirely military as PRUSSIA, could hardly be brought to any perfection; yet if we consider the strict discipline of the PRUSSIAN army,



army, it is the more easy to be reconciled. I was well assured at BERLIN, that of 10,000 soldiers in garrison, not a man had been known for several months to have committed any violence, or disturbed the tranquillity of the citizens. If this project of a trade to the EAST INDIES takes effect, it is thought the HOLLANDERS will feel it more than any other nation; but it is not less the duty of the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN to withhold that assistance which the laws<sup>d</sup> forbid us to grant.

There is one circumstance in favour of his PRUSSIAN majesty beyond any other prince in EUROPE, I mean the great œconomy of his government and personal expence. The allowance of his table is but 30 crowns<sup>e</sup> a day, fish and wine excepted, in which he makes no great expence.

POTSDAM is the favourite residence of this prince; here he avoids the empty ceremonies of a court. He sits down to table with twelve persons, and after his own ministers who are most in favour, are invited, and also those of foreign princes who happen to be at POTSDAM, his officers, even to an ensign, fill up the vacant places. Nor is this the only means of recommending himself to the love of his soldiers; the meanest officer knows that he shall be redressed in any case of injustice; that wherever his quarters are, he need but write to the king, and by the return of the post he may expect an answer, oftentimes wrote by his majesty himself. In his letters he sometimes goes so far as to advise where he thinks the party errs in judgment, or is biased by some false desire; this also renders his service the more valuable. His conversation is free and easy, even to jesting, but he can pass from the gay to the serious in an instant,

<sup>d</sup> As to the insurance of foreign INDIA ships at their first setting out; mankind are become very base in most countries, and it seems prudent for under-writers to try how a new enterprize of such moment is conducted in point of PROBITY as well as skill, before they throw themselves into the arms of those who may be tempted to play tricks, in case their business does not prosper; we may observe further, that IF it does not prosper, and no insurance is made, or none which proves responsible, the scheme MIGHT be rendered abortive, which is an argument against insuring: we may also add, that in a NATIONAL LIGHT it is absurd to insure what we do not desire should succeed, and this reason, as far as it may be allowed a good one, is against the insuring the ships of our enemies in time of war. <sup>e</sup> 5 l. 5 s.



he supports his dignity from the fear, as well as the affection of those about him.

He requires delicate foods, but eats moderately, and mixes water with his wine: he takes SPANISH snuff to excess, so that his cloaths can scarce be clear of it; in this instance he resembles the great prince EUGENE. He used to drink liberally of champaign, and eat rich fruits soaked in strong wine. But having been often afflicted with fevers, he is become abstemious.

In his person he appears rather plump than corpulent, his face looks full of blood, his countenance is inclined to the pensive, but is very expressive, indicating in some measure the incessant labour of his mind. Since the late war he is much broken, and stoops, which takes off from his figure. He often appears in boots, and always in his regimentals, which are a blue cloth frock with silver BRANDENBURGS, and he is master only of one change for the winter and another for the summer. I saw his wardrobe, which is indeed very mean or very grand, according to the impression it gives the spectator. In this particular the king is a copy of PETER the GREAT.

His bed, which I particularly observed at CHARLOTTENBURG, was in a small alcove or niche, consisting only of two mattresses under the cover of a down quilt, without the least common ornament or mark of grandeur. He often asks his most familiar acquaintance, if they think the condition of a king above all others the most desirable? and then tells them how easily they may rectify their fond opinion, by observing what great labour and attention the duty of a king requires.

He is so little an observer of useless forms, that he has risen from his chair at his writing table, and caused his engraver to take his place, and write down the orders which he dictated standing. That he has a sense of friendship and gratitude, is, I think, obvious from a singular circumstance of his conduct during my abode in BERLIN, and to a person with whom I had the honour of being well acquainted. This is Mr. KEITH, whom I knew in PORTUGAL, after he had been obliged to leave his



country in the late king's reign, for his devotion to the service of his present majesty. On his return home it was natural for this gentleman to expect a kind reception; but the king having now adopted other principles, was desirous to inculcate the necessity of obedience to the sovereign; however he allowed Mr. KEITH a pension, gave him the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and put him near the queen mother. At length being well apprized of his real worth, he took occasion to remember his faithful servant. In the mock-battle which I have mentioned, this prince ordered a few trees, to a very inconsiderable value, to be cut down in the grounds of madame KNEEPHAUSE, the mother-in-law of Mr. KEITH, with whom also the king did not stand very fair. The king seeing Mr. KEITH at court the day after, called to him, and in very obliging terms asked him in FRENCH, "Will you do me a pleasure? Carry this casket to your mother-in-law with my compliments, and here is the key of it." In it were found 10,000 crowns in gold, and a very polite letter to madame KNEEPHAUSE, recommending Mr. KEITH to her in the strongest and most affectionate terms. This incident gained the king applause, in proportion to the great love and esteem which every one has for Mr. KEITH. This gentleman is of SCOTCH extraction, but his parents for some ages have acknowledged allegiance to the house of BRANDENBURG.

With regard to filial duties, few private men treat their parents with more respect than he does his mother, whom he never approaches covered, nor without the highest expressions of reverence; when he is in BERLIN he visits her every day; nor does he treat his sisters with less politeness. He is civil to his own queen, but nothing more: this is a part of his history which the people do not talk of. I observed in the opera house that he placed the margravine of BAREITH at his right hand; and when he took his leave, retired backwards two or three yards. GERMAN ceremonies are in several instances troublesome, and in some ridiculous.

Besides his great skill in music, he has a taste for poetry; during his campaign, in that part of the war which was unfortunate<sup>a</sup>, after perform-

<sup>a</sup> When he retired from before prince CHARLES in BOHEMIA.



ing all the duties, and suffering all the fatigues of a general in the day, he possessed such tranquility as to answer letters of pleasure and politeness, and even to write verses in the evening, as I was assured by one of his chaplains. His memoirs of the house of BRANDENBURG, are a proof of his abilities as an author.

This prince pretends also to some knowledge in physic ; he disputes with his physicians, and, after hearing their opinions, generally prescribes for himself. I do not suppose that this is always the case ; but he once gave occasion to a certain physician to tell him with that frankness with which one may speak to a man of sense, though a king, “ All the world must “ acknowledge your majesty understands how to govern a kingdom ; but “ give me leave to understand my profession also as a physician.”

There is another story current in BERLIN, which I apprehend must have had some foundation, though the circumstances are not very credible. When the disgust between the courts of LONDON and BERLIN ran high, the king upon some jocular occasion, mentioned a certain great prince in terms not the most respectful ; to which his minister, who, as the story says, was then present, made this pertinent and gallant answer ; “ The king my “ master never rode off the field of battle.” This was doing justice at once to the essential merit and well known valour of the prince in question, and reproving the king for the fault which he committed by an over solicitude for the security of his person at the battle of MOLVITZ, where he made his first appearance as a warrior.

The great secret of life, with regard to the execution of much business of whatever kind, is a proper and religious distribution of the several hours of the day. No man understands this better than his PRUSSIAN majesty : his constitution having suffered by taking too little rest, he now goes to bed early, and sleeps seven or eight hours : by this means he is in a condition to rise early ; and besides the business of the cabinet and the parade, he can enjoy his favourite pleasures of books and music ; in this last he composes as well as performs.



It is amazing to consider a man so devoted to business, and yet so passionately fond of music; how far it may contribute to the VIRTUE of his mind, I know not; it is certainly no vulgar pleasure. "Of all the enjoyments of sense, says an eminent divine, this is the least sensual." Indeed its effects, if rightly improved, terminate not in the bare pleasure of amusement; it seems to be peculiarly adapted to minds susceptible of religious impressions; its charms are calculated to inspire a just idea of him who has formed the heart to a relish of such delights, endowed us with capacities to proclaim his praises, and taught us how to raise the soul to the raptures of angels.

It may be remarked, that very few persons who have not a good genius, arrive at any great proficiency in this science, though it seems to depend more on the imagination than the understanding. It is certain that this enchanting art has made a deep impression on the king of PRUSSIA, who prides himself in nothing so much, except business. He generally spends a short time in playing on the flute every morning before he goes to his cabinet: here he remains till eleven, and then receives foreign ministers, and executes business of a more public nature till noon: he then usually goes abroad, and gratifies himself in seeing military exercise, and performing the duty of a soldier, and keeping up the spirit of that discipline, which is so essential to the support of his state and conquest. Soon after one he dines, and about three one of his secretaries reads to him. In the evening he has a concert; and this is the ordinary manner in which he fills up the day.

The world has talked much of his secret manner of conducting business: it is well known that besides the execution of some important part of it with his own hand; his secretaries have every one their private apartment, and each his particular province assigned; so that if he discovers that any of them are unfaithful, there is no difficulty where to fix it.

Notwithstanding this prince's great abilities, his situation seems to be uneasy. It has been said of him, that he once declared he would give  
his



his right hand to be sure of possessing SILESIA during his life. It is highly improbable that he ever did make such a declaration, though it might be made for him by the partizans of the house of AUSTRIA.

Immediately after the diversions I have mentioned were concluded, the king went to BRESLAU; it was remarkable that the house in which he was lodged, was in flames without its being known by what means, and his majesty had but just time to preserve his person, narrowly escaping from the flames as his father did about 20 years before at DRESDEN. Now I have mentioned BRESLAU, it may be worth observing that the king maintains a garrison of 10,000 soldiers in that city, whereas the AUSTRIANS never had near that number. Notwithstanding some appearances, the steady hand with which this prince conducts his government, promises a happy reign. The time may come when it will be the mutual interest of this nation, and the house of BRANDENBURG, to reunite again: though religion seems to be out of the question in most political alliances, yet this consideration will ever create an inclination to friendship among states. The established religion of BRANDENBURG is much the same as ours: we have generally been connected with that house; and the present good situation of it, if the UNITED PROVINCES continue in the condition they are in, may again render a union necessary. But whatever changes time may produce in states, ever subject to change, honour, I think, will be due to the present king of PRUSSIA from us, and all mankind. He has established a reputation upon the surest foundation, was it only for that bold generous stroke in politics, in delivering his country from the jaws of lawyers, who before his time, at least in BRANDENBURG, sported with the sufferings of the wretched, and saw unmoved the tears of the widow. In the PRUSSIAN dominions, the decision of causes cannot be protracted to a tormenting and devouring length. How long this will last is hard to say, unless the king has the art of making his subjects virtuous, as well as obedient to his edicts. The suits in BRANDENBURG are now brought to a speedy issue at an easy expence, a regulation which could never be made but by the singular attention of a sovereign prince. Why it is not done in limited



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mitted as well as absolute monarchies, I know not; unless in certain instances slavery is preferred to liberty, or the name of liberty to the reality of it. The law is certainly an excellent and a necessary profession; but too many men are bred up to it; consequently in pursuit of a support, they deviate from the original design, by perplexing with injurious refinements that which it is their duty to make plain and intelligible.

After what has been said in praise of the king of PRUSSIA, and of the several marks of his fine taste and penetrating judgment, we may contemplate the superior charms of liberty. A man accustomed to live under a limited monarchy, who has preserved a right sense of his condition, will plainly discover how little desirable those circumstances are, which render it the duty of a father to submit the disposal of his children, as well as his estate, to the arbitrary will of his sovereign; which must sometimes tempt him, even under such a king as his PRUSSIAN majesty, to curse his ancestors, whose folly or cowardice have forfeited the reward of virtue, and the most valuable gift which the author of nature has bestowed on his creatures.

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#### C H A P. XXXIV.

*A short description of the palaces of CHARLOTTENBURG and POTSDAM. Of the PRUSSIAN guards, number of the PRUSSIAN troops, their arms, cloathing, exercise and pay; with a view of the PRUSSIAN revenues.*

**B**EFORE I took my final leave of BERLIN, my curiosity carried me to CHARLOTTENBURG, which is about a mile distance from the city, through a road exceeding sandy. The king's grandfather founded this palace, and his present majesty has finished it according to his own taste, which appears to be extremely elegant. There is a range of about ten apartments, few of them large, but well disposed and convenient; they are adorned with white stucco and gilding in a very high manner. The ball room is in an exquisite taste, and worthy of the king who is said to have designed it. It has ten windows on each side, and



and besides the stoco and guilding, which are more rich than in the other apartments, it is also adorned with busts, statues and large pier glasses. The gardens are laid out with taste, and the statues well disposed.

August the 22d, I left BERLIN and went to POTSDAM, which is distant 4 miles; the road is very sandy and disagreeable. This is the favourite residence of the king; it is agreeably situated on a branch of the SPREE, which forms a serpentine figure, and is near 100 fathoms over. The town is of a considerable extent, and the buildings neat and regular, as indeed are those of almost every town in BRANDENBURG; but it seems to be intirely occupied by soldiers. The palace which the king has lately built there, is not large, but elegant, particularly the king's writing-chamber and study, the last is partitioned by ballustrades of silver; the frames of the looking-glasses and embellishments of the tables are also of the same metal. There is a large apartment for the officers who dine in it every day at the king's expence. The throne in the audience chamber is magnificently adorned with a rich embroidery of the arms of the house of BRANDENBURG, supported by two HERCULES's. In one of the apartments are two curious figures in copper, of a CHINESE man sitting, a woman of the same country supporting an umbrello over him; the whole piece is richly gilded and stands in an oval niche laid with marble; these two figures compose a very convenient stove. They were then lining the grand salloon with SILESIA marble, of which the staircase was already finished.

In the garden are many rich statues of a great size, particularly a NEPTUNE and AMPHITRITE erected on a sea car in a large bason, opposite the east front of the palace. The stables are contiguous, and well furnished with good ENGLISH hunters.

In POTSDAM are quartered the king's guards, who are about 2000 men, of great stature and comeliness, well cloathed, and distinguished by silver laced hats and black cockades. His present majesty has declined those oppressive measures which the old king practised to support this body of men of a prodigious stature; they are yet remarkably tall. A certain



certain ENGLISH nobleman being asked by his late majesty, "if his master had any equal number of troops who could beat these tall fellows," answered, "I do not know that the king my master has any regiment who can beat your majesty's guards; but I dare engage he has one of half their number that would fight them."

The army which his present majesty keeps on foot, being an object of astonishment to the curious world, I shall mention such particulars as occurred to me; and though many of them may at first sight appear as too minute for judicious observation, yet they are not, I think, uninteresting.

The number of troops in the pay of the king of PRUSSIA is generally computed at 120,000; his officers insisted they were 140,000. I have seen a list which makes them yet more numerous, but I believe they do not exceed this number, if they reach it.

This prince has a body of 80 squadrons of HUSSARS, each of 130 men. I saw many of them in the towns I passed through, and was surprized by what means they could be collected, so youthful, comely, strong and well shaped: but the king has his emissaries all over EUROPE. Whilst I was in DANTZIG, a young man of whom I had some knowledge, had procured himself a lodging in prison; his debt, which was of about 20 l. was immediately offered to be paid, provided he would enter into the PRUSSIAN service.

The arms of the HUSSARS are a light musket and sabre, both which are kept in admirable order. Their cloathing is of coarse red cloth, made close to their bodies, and strengthened at the elbows by leather in the shape of a heart. Their breeches are of well dressed sheep-skin. Their boots short and light, but the soles of them made durable. Their caps are strengthened in the ordinary way, so as to stand a cut. They are the only denomination of soldiers in the PRUSSIAN service who have no chaplain; indeed their number upon the old establishment was considerable. One of the chaplains who attended the king in the last war, complained to me of the little sense of religion among the HUSSARS; and as an instance, mentioned a remarkable piece of villainy committed by  
one



one of that body. A young man had just taken charge of a purse of money from a dying PRUSSIAN officer, who had enjoined him to deliver it to his wife and children; a HUSSAR came up to him in this interval and demanded the purse, which the young man refused, alledging for what purpose he had received it; notwithstanding which, this lawless foldier murdered him and took the money<sup>f</sup>.

Besides the HUSSARS, the king has a small body of men whom they call hunters, who are reputed the most faithful couriers in his army, and are oftentimes promoted for their fidelity in hazardous enterprizes. The AUSTRIANS are said to have employed men under this denomination among their ranks with pieces loaded with single balls, to mark out the officers of the enemy, in which they are very dexterous. This, which is confessedly an unwarrantable practice, induced the PRUSSIANS, according to the report of the latter, to take the same method: when these hunters are taken prisoners no quarter is granted on either side.

The PRUSSIAN soldiers in general are remarkable for their very short cloathing, which at first view seems to be frugality to a degree of ridiculousness, but is most plainly calculated for many wise ends. Nothing but a blind superstition for the customs of our forefathers, could have so long kept several nations ignorant of the same management. The PRUSSIAN soldiers also have their elbows armed with leather, as already observed. It saves the reputation of patching an old garment; and one never sees a PRUSSIAN soldier the least in rags; on the contrary they all appear as gentlemen, with regard to the cleanliness of their persons.

The king's guards and some few other regiments are cloathed annually, but in general the army has new regimentals twice in three years only. The late king required the soldiery to wear white spatterdashes winter and summer, but his present majesty observing the inconvenience as well as inelegance of it, gives his men black for the winter; these are made of fustian, or a thick kind of linnen cloth. The soldiers have also breeches

<sup>f</sup> Whatever the priest might imagine, I am afraid such accidents are not unusual in war, and that a common soldier sometimes kills a friend as well as an enemy.



of woollen cloth in this season, whereas in summer they are of white dimity or linnen, which are very light and clean. They observe an uniformity about their heads by wearing pigtails, which are easily kept in repair. They are generally powdered, but always so when on duty; and this modern elegance in dress not only serves to preserve the natural hair, or wig, but gives the soldier a respect for his own person; and the rank in which he is taught to consider himself, compensates in some sort for the smallness of his pay.

The soldiers hats, and the caps of the grenadiers are small, but at the same time as they answer all the purposes of a covering and a uniform, their heads by this means are kept the cooler; this must afford a considerable advantage both in march and action, beyond the ridiculous magnitude of modern coverings, which had once prevailed so much in the BRITISH army, that the soldiers affected a reputation for courage in proportion to the dimension of their hats.

The PRUSSIAN soldiers carry their cartouch box much higher than those of any troops I have yet seen: this must also render their march the easier, as the carriage of it is so much the lighter; and custom must make it equally familiar to draw their cartridges: their arms on the other hand are reputed incomparably the largest and most weighty of any in EUROPE, though some of the fuzileers, who are smaller bodied men, have their arms proportioned. As to the cleanness of them, 'tis hard to believe how far this is carried: a soldier can hardly find time to be idle or wicked. Notwithstanding the great weight of their arms, the tactic art is carried here to the highest perfection; and nothing can give more pleasure to those who have any idea of the harmony of this sort of motion, than the exercise of the PRUSSIAN soldiers, which they go through twice a day: when the weather is bad it is performed under cover, for which proper places are appointed. The least motion of the head not according to art, is corrected; so that a soldier in this service must apply diligently to his duty, or he will pass his time very ill. The frequent repetition of exercise seems to render these heavy arms more familiar to them



them, than much lighter are to soldiers kept in idleness. Men thus inured to labour, must necessarily enjoy great advantages in marching; and when they come to action, their heavy arms will bear a greater repetition of discharges, carry further with larger balls, and have a greater weight with the bayonet. The king makes himself acquainted with circumstances the most minute, however disregarded through a blind succession of ages as things indifferent, well knowing how much the fate of empires may depend on causes less the objects of common observation.

These soldiers are not put to any other than military duties; except the natives of BRANDENBURG who in time of peace have liberty by rotation to pursue agriculture and mechanic employments. In respect to labour they are considered as gentlemen: but drunkenness and gaming are punishable in the severest manner.

During the summer they send bodies of cavalry into the field; at the same time that this accustoms them to the duty of a campaign, they serve also as an advanced guard, prevent desertion among the soldiers, and robberies or murders on the roads: for out of these detachments, which are generally composed of about 100 men and upwards, a watch guard of two men are placed in several different parts of the roads near their body. None but the king's guards are ever permitted to go without the walls of BERLIN.

In all countries where great armies are supported, a rigid discipline becomes essential, and this his PRUSSIAN seems to understand. It is thought that many of his soldiers are ripe for desertion, and so it appeared to me from some particular circumstances; but foreigners who have already been in several services, are generally inconstant.

I have already observed, that two thirds of the army, according to their establishment, should be composed of foreigners, and this reason, as well as the small number of inhabitants in the PRUSSIAN dominions, make it obvious how difficult it must be to recruit an army; so that however formidable this prince may appear, if we consider his country as little



plentiful in resources of wealth as of inhabitants, that strength must be deemed artificial in a great measure, which has so great a connection with foreign dependencies : however all the world must allow, that the strength derived from the acquisition of SILESIA, which constitutes a great part of this prince's power, is more natural ; whether it is more stable shall not be my business to enquire.

The pay of a common soldier in this country is eight grosch <sup>s</sup> a week, and of this three pence is supposed to go in washing, and materials for cleaning their arms, for which they are so much distinguished ; but they are allowed bread.

Upon this calculation 120,000 men cost but 364,000 l. so that if we reckon thrice this sum, in order to include their ammunition bread, the pay of officers, and cloathing, it does not much exceed a million sterling ; such is the incredible force of discipline and œconomy : but this is a lesson with which we are not well acquainted in GREAT BRITAIN. One remarkable proof of this œconomy is, that the PRUSSIAN army, as well as all the officers of the crown, receive their pay before it is due : SILESIA, according to some calculations, supports near 40,000 men ; from whence we may judge how reluctant the house of AUSTRIA must have been to part with it. The subsidy which the king receives from FRANCE, is said to be no less an object than 300,000 l. value in our money.

The revenues of the house of BRANDENBURG, including the king's late conquest, are computed at eight millions of dollars <sup>b</sup> ; but I think this sum exceeds the reality. These revenues arise from a tax of about half the rent of the lands, and near 40 per cent. on the value of all eatables, soap, candles, &c. and yet, what must appear most strange to us in ENGLAND, the advantages arising from the national œconomy, and the regularity which runs through every branch of the government, and particularly in the parcimony of the court, make the people's chains fit easy, and secure their property enough to animate their industry.

<sup>s</sup> Fourteen pence.

<sup>b</sup> 1,400,000 l.



Happy were it for us did we know but half the misery which other nations feel. It would induce us chearfully to contribute to the support of that government against which we are so apt to complain: the integrity of our manners would then render it unnecessary to good ministers, and dangerous to bad ones, to dare to corrupt the minds of those on whose virtue our liberty must ultimately depend.

## C H A P. XXXV.

*Description of SANS SOUCI. A short account of the manufactory, academy; and church at WITTENBURG. Distresses in SAXONY, occasioned by the multiplicity of deer. The author arrives at DRESDEN. A short account of that city and its trade. Number of inhabitants, soldiery, established religion, ROMISH chapel, &c. Some particulars concerning the king of PRUSSIA after his victories in SAXONY.*

SANS SOUCI being in the neighbourhood of POTSDAM, I indulged my curiosity in seeing it before I took my leave of the electorate of BRANDENBURG; for hardly in any part of GERMANY is there any thing worth seeing, but what immediately belongs to the sovereigns of the country. This building seems to have been intended as a summer-house and library to the palace of POTSDAM, from whence it is about an ENGLISH mile. It stands upon an eminence, and commands an agreeable view of the town, and also of a small branch of the SPREE, which runs by the side of the garden. The apartments are for the most part on the ground floor; they are elegantly finished, and as the king seems to have a liking for the place, it is probable the building will be enlarged. From the house to the lower part of the garden, is a descent of about 120 yards, by six several ranges of stone steps, and as many terraces, the sides of which are all planted with vines and covered with glass casements, and standing full to the south and south-east sun, the fruit is well ripened. The garden below has nothing extraordinary, except several fine pieces of statuary done by NANCIE of PARIS, particularly a VENUS drawing a net, and a DIANA with game; the pedestals of which

are



are also rich in relievo. There are several others of less note, both in marble and lead, and also basons of the same material. For some of these curiosities the king is obliged to count BRUHL, whom we shall have occasion to mention. As his majesty professes no love for this minister, he the more easily reconciled carrying off several statues and other such valuables from the count's house and gardens at DRESDEN. The garden is short of half an ENGLISH measured mile, the east end of it is terminated by an EGYPTIAN pyramid, embellished with hieroglyphics. Here is very little turf and no gravel, the sandy walks robbing the garden of half its beauty. This place is treated with an uncommon respect, the gardiner did not permit me to walk with my sword on, alledging that the king himself never wore one in that retreat.

The 23d of August I left POTSDAM, and travelling through woods and sandy plains, where I met with only one small village, and hardly a living creature except some deer in the forest, I arrived at BELITZ, which is two GERMAN miles; from thence to BRITZEN are two very long miles, but the road less sandy: this is the PRUSSIAN frontier. From BRITZEN I entered the electorate of SAXONY. The passport which I had received from the governor of BERLIN was no longer of any use. Here the pleasantness of the verdure and the richness of the soil, intermixed with groves and herds of cattle, give one an idea of plenty, superior to what is found in BRANDENBURG; yet the œconomy and elegance of the PRUSSIANS compensate so greatly for this inequality, that many of the SAXONS have taken refuge in BRANDENBURG, and chuse the sandy soil of that country, with the government of it, preferable to their own. Hence several little towns which the king of PRUSSIA has built on his own frontiers, are almost fully peopled by SAXONS; and some of the SAXONS, I was told, transplant themselves to AMERICA, to avoid the insupportable exactions continually made on them.

Having travelled four GERMAN miles, I arrived at WITTENBURG, famous for the manufactory of coarse cloths: the wool in this country is remarkably good. There are about 500 private manufacturies,  
cloths



cloths are also sent hither from all parts to be dyed; the blues and greens, commonly called SAXON, are best dyed in this place.

Here is also an academy, in which about 700 students are taught the arts of dancing, fencing, and other polite accomplishments. They are under the care of twelve professors, who teach LATIN, GREEK and FRENCH. Young persons are sent hither from all parts of GERMANY, particularly from HAMBURG and DANTZIG. Here is the SOKOLOFF church, a building of about 300 years standing, where MARTIN LUTHER first preached the doctrine which occasioned the revolt from the ROMISH church. He is also interred here, but has no other monument than a simple brass plate with an inscription, except his original portrait at length painted on wood, and well preserved since 1540. The people here, as in most places, where the LUTHERAN religion prevails, have a strong tincture of ROMISH superstition; among several instances of which the credulous tell you, that in the library now belonging to the academy, the devil visited MARTIN LUTHER, who received him so unpolitely as to throw his ink-stand at him.

WITTENBURG is a fortified town, situated near the ELBE, and had at this time a garrison of 500 invalids, commanded by prince EUGENE of DESSAU.

Not far from hence we passed over the little river ELSTER, and thro' several woods of oak, from whence the inhabitants have plenty of acorns for their swine, which is their principal food. The peasants were now mowing a second crop of hay, but the extreme fertility of the soil did not seem to diminish the poverty of the inhabitants.

On the 24th I went from WITTENBURG to ANNABURG, which is four GERMAN miles, and from thence to GOSDORF, three GERMAN miles; the greatest part of the latter are very tedious, being through a forest where the road is very bad.

From thence to GROSSEHAGN is three GERMAN miles, through a delightful road and rich soil. This country abounds in large storks, with  
black



black tails, and wings tipped with the same colour. I counted ten towns and villages round me, within the circle of little more than an ENGLISH mile, which rather shows what SAXONY has been than what it now is.

On the 25th I passed by MOLSBERG, a hunting palace belonging to the king, situated on an eminence near the village ISINGBERG, about two GERMAN miles from DRESDEN. The avenue which leads to it is very long, well paved, and planted on each side with wild chefnut-trees: it has a good garden, and is surrounded with woods, where the king takes such delight in hunting the wild boar, that he sometimes remains there for three months at a time. At the bottom of it is a great lake which abounds in fish.

Hunting is the ruling passion of the SAXON court, and a fatal passion it is; for the rational inhabitants are more distressed by it than the brutes. In the hard winter of 1740, it is computed that above 30,000 head of deer died in the electorate of SAXONY; and yet in the open lands and forests were now reckoned to remain above that number, of which nobody dares to kill one under penalty of being condemned as a galley-slave: thus the deer become more tame than a sportsman could wish; and these with the wild boars are so great a nuisance to the country, that the SAXONS would gladly compound to support a body of 8000 soldiers extraordinary, on condition that these animals should be reduced to half their present number. In every town of any note there are fifty of the inhabitants who watch, five every night, by rotation, and use bells to frighten the deer, and defend their corn from the incursions of this formidable enemy. Frequent remonstrances have been made to the court on this subject, but to no other purpose than to convince the people of their slavery. This little passion, joined to a foolish respect for the custom of their forefathers, thus induces the electors of SAXONY to violate the property of their subjects; at the same time they depart from the true ends of government, and consequently from their true happiness, which they fondly seek by such gratifications.

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The peasants of this country carry provisions to market for a great distance in wheelbarrows, which are well adapted for the purpose both in their height and other dimensions; the wheel of it is bound with iron, and is lighter, though much larger, than those we use in ENGLAND.

DRESDEN, the metropolis of the electorate of SAXONY, stands on a plain, surrounded about two leagues off by lofty hills; the nearest of them are very sandy, and are therefore converted into vineyards, which, receiving all the heat of a full south sun, sometimes bring the grapes to maturity; but I never heard any great commendations of their wine. As I entered the city I observed a very different conduct in the guard from what is found in BRANDENBURG; for here no questions were asked, whereas the PRUSSIANS are as circumspect as in time of war. Near the entrance of the part called the NEW CITY, is an equestrian statue of the late king AUGUSTUS II. erected on a lofty pedestal, said to be made by a common smith, and as such may be admired; but it has many capital defects, particularly in the head of the horse.

This city is well fortified: it stands on both sides of the ELBE, which communicate with each other by a stone bridge 540 feet long, and 36 broad, in which space it has 18 arches; the passage over it is horizontal, and takes off very much from that grand effect which a curve produces in these structures<sup>i</sup>. Great order is observed in passing this bridge, one side being appointed to lead to the NEW CITY, and the other to the OLD; near the latter it is adorned with a crucifix of brass of curious workmanship, about half as big as the life. It is fixed on a stone pedestal, on which are the emblems of death and the devil, represented by a human skull and a serpent in brass. Here are several squares and lofty stone buildings, in which are six or seven stories. The rooms, though neat, are not large. The buildings make an elegant appearance, but are inferior in beauty to those of BERLIN. DRESDEN being an antient city, many of the streets are narrow.

<sup>i</sup> The bridge at WESTMINSTER is incomparably more grand.



The trade of this place is very inconsiderable. The most important commodity here is silver, of which the mines near FRIDBURG produce every fifteen days about the value of 20,000 dollars<sup>k</sup>, which is brought into the city in ingots in a regular carriage appointed for that purpose, and immediately coined and delivered to the proprietors. The mines are under the care of directors, whose business it is to support the value of the stock, but they usually go in a beaten tract, without making any efforts to encrease the quantity, on the contrary it often comes short of the ordinary computation. This silver is immediately coined into florins of 16 grosch, which with respect to the current money of bats, driers, &c. is worth 7 per cent. advance, and is consequently so speedily conveyed into the neighbouring territories to be again melted down, that it is next to impossible to obtain in change in this true silver, money for one single louis d'or in the ordinary commerce of the people: in which instance the SAXONS seem very regardless of their own interest; for though this silver may be considered as a commodity, the currency of such a coin as their bats and driers, must be detrimental in proportion as they are worse than their genuine coin.

The exchange here is regulated as in LEIPSIG. The par is reckoned 125 SAXON dollars for 100 rix dollars current in AMSTERDAM, but the exchange is generally 135 for their small monies: there is an agio of 3 per cent. when payment is made for bills in louis d'ors, and for ducats 4 per cent. is allowed.

They pretend there are 30,000 towns and villages in SAXONY, of which to the number of 60 are seen from some eminences near DRESDEN. They also reckon that the whole electorate has 4 millions of people, which seems to be twice the number one ought to believe, especially as they acknowledge to have only 2600 ecclesiastics; nor were there now in DRESDEN above 110,000 souls, of which 4000 were soldiers.

The king's guard is a regiment consisting of 2000 soldiers, half of them are POLANDERS and half SAXONS: they are tall well-looking men, their regimentals in good order, and their exercise exact; it is modelled after

<sup>k</sup> 3500l.



the PRUSSIAN manner, but not carried to that perfection. Their arms are lighter than those of the PRUSSIANs, but their cartouch box heavier: except this regiment, which is cloathed in red, all the infantry wear white with different facings. The king's horse guards are cloathed in a high taste, but with a mixture of the grand and ridiculous, their buff coats being richly embroidered in gold, with a sun on their breast and another on their backs. The SAXONS are reckoned very good soldiers. Several PRUSSIAN officers have acknowledged to me, that had the AUSTRIANS behaved so well as the SAXONS, they should have found a more arduous struggle in the late war. The inhabitants here think the king of PRUSSIA did not play fair upon the occasion of the battle of DRESDEN; yet they acknowledge the good order preserved in the PRUSSIAN army by his majesty's presence, as it saved the citizens from those violences which they feared from the ferocity of the prince of ANHALT DESSAU. When the king of PRUSSIA came to this city with his army, he would not suffer even his brother AUGUSTUS WILLIAM to gratify his curiosity in seeing the rarities which were left in the green vault, for fear of any accident to them. One of my acquaintance in DRESDEN told me that the king asked him what the people thought upon the occasion of the battle, he replied, "We were all in the highest terrors and apprehensions." "So" was I also, says the king, and we must all thank your sovereign the elector of SAXONY for it."

Besides the several calamities under which this country labours, the jealousy arising from the article of religion is not the least; the established LUTHERAN clergy are watchful of the reformed church which is much kept under, and obliged to have all their marriages, christenings and burials performed by LUTHERANS; whilst both think themselves extremely injured by the great countenance which is given at court to the ROMAN catholics. They esteem it a gross absurdity for a protestant people to be governed by a ROMISH prince; for the very principles of that religion, instead of promoting the notion of one common interest, declare against it.

According to the established constitution of SAXONY, the ROMAN catholics can no more have a church in DRESDEN, than their elector, with-



out being of the ROMISH church, can be king of POLAND. A chapel however is connived at, by which is understood a private, or at least a modest place of worship; but the ROMISH chapel, as it is so called, is a pompous structure, and so richly adorned with statues and architecture, that art and expence seem to contend for the superiority, however it was not yet entirely compleated. The furniture of it is intended to be of SAXON porcelain, the altar-piece and organ not excepted. I saw some of the organ pipes in different pieces, and I make no doubt of the completion of this design.

The pleasure I had in the acquaintance of young count BUENAU, who was with the POLISH embassador at St. PETERSBURG, gave me an opportunity of carrying a recommendatory letter, directed to the count his father, at NOETHNIZ, which is not far from DRESDEN. This nobleman, who served the late emperor as minister of state, is esteemed one of the most learned men in GERMANY, and has made one of the finest collection of books. I was very politely received by Mr. PETRI and Mr. GERVINUS, both merchants, also by Mr. PETSHOLD, who had been the SAXON minister at the RUSSIAN court, and was now on his departure as minister at the court of VIENNA. Mr. FONCK, who was charged with the SAXON affairs in RUSSIA, obliged me with a particular recommendation to Mr. DE VIETH, master of the ceremonies to the king of POLAND. This gentleman is remarkable for a fine person; he received me very politely, and expressed great concern at the absence of the court, which was at WARSAW, as it deprived him of the means of procuring me many pleasures.



## C H A P. XXXVI.

*A succinct account of the curiosities in DRESDEN in the eight apartments of the GRUNE GEWOLBE, and the twelve chambers of the KUNTSKAMMAR<sup>1</sup>. SOLOMON'S temple. King's gallery of pictures. The CHINESE palace, and the quantity of porcelain contained in it. Of the SAXON porcelain in general.*

**M**R. DE VEITH was so very obliging as to attend me to the GRUNE GEWOLBE<sup>m</sup>, which is an apartment of the royal palace, and a repository of great riches as well as curiosities.

I know not whether any traveller has given an account of the profusion of expensive trinkets contained in this building; but it is certain there are many of most exquisite art, collected at a prodigious expence. They are too numerous to attempt a particular catalogue; the minutes which I took down on the spot are as follows:

The first chamber contains 100 small statues curiously wrought, the greatest part in brass, particularly an equestrian statue of AUGUSTUS II. king of POLAND; FREDERICK WILLIAM the GREAT, being a model of the famous statue at BERLIN<sup>n</sup>; LEWIS XIV; centaurs, MERCURY'S, &c.

The second chamber is of ivory, in a great variety of figures; among others there is a fine crucifix; a ship completely rigged, with gold wire to represent ropes; the sails are adorned with the arms of the king and the names of the princes of the royal family; a figure of ABRAHAM offering his son ISAAC, with the angel descending and holding the hand of ABRAHAM as it is raised to give the fatal wound. This figure, which is a copy of what was in the academy of St. PETERSBURG, is one ell and a half high, and of exquisite workmanship.

The third is of silver, curiously wrought in variety of figures, particularly a large fountain and four vases of a great size. The fourth

<sup>1</sup> The chamber of knowledge.

<sup>m</sup> Green vault.

<sup>n</sup> Of which I have given a plate.

contains



contains vessels of pure gold, and silver gilt; the pannels of the room are of looking-glass. There are several fine enamelled cups, and some pieces of plate of which they boast the antiquity. The fifth is a spacious room with a large quantity of precious stones worked with great art; a cup of LAPIS NEPHRITICUS<sup>o</sup>; a statue of CHARLES II. of ENGLAND; a large goblet set round with the most curious and costly antiques; the angel MICHAEL vanquishing the devil; this piece is of wood, and of admirable workmanship performed in ENGLAND, it cost 2500 l. and is only two feet high. There are several fine tables of MOSAIC, particularly one representing flowers, which cost 70,000 scudi of FLORENCE, and was given to the king as a present; a ball of cristal six inches diameter, without blemish; with a great variety of cups, cristals, mother of pearls, &c.

The sixth chamber is of precious stones, with some false ones. There are also great variety of pearls set in a multiplicity of forms; his present majesty of POLAND curiously cut in an onyx; the representation of JONAS thrown into the sea, made of precious stones, which is a very fine piece, and there are several others of the like nature; a sword with a silver blade, so tempered as to bend like steel, the hilt is of gold; this curiosity was sent to the king by his holiness of ROME; the royal crown, sceptres, balls, &c. of the king and queen, which are of false stones, the precious ones are taken out for use, and deposited in the next chambers, viz. the seventh and the eighth: these being of prodigious value, are surrounded with glass cases, and filled with the king's regalia, and a profusion of rich trinkets, as swords, buttons, canes, stars of his order, &c. set with the finest stones, and many of them very large; there are five dozen of coat and three of waistcoat buttons of brilliants, six dozen of buttons and six dozen of button-holes of rose diamonds; a brilliant as big as a moderate sized walnut; a green brilliant above an inch long; an onyx of seven inches, estimated at 70,000 crowns value; a cup representing DIANA in a bath, with combs, brushes, &c. all in gold and precious

<sup>o</sup> They say this stone suffers no kind of poison without breaking, and is an antidote against the stone and gravel.



stones ; a garniture of saphirs, as buttons, sword, star, watch, snuff-box, &c.

But to pass over this profusion of precious stones, the piece of the greatest curiosity as an exact representation, is the throne of the GREAT MOGHOL, which with extraordinary art and labour is performed in silver figures, enamelled in colours, and adorned with precious stones. There is a view of potentates bringing presents, and falling prostrate at the throne, with elephants, soldiers, servants, and attendants in their different stations. The artificer DINGELENGER is said to have spent many years about this work.

Having thus gratified my curiosity in seeing this expensive collection, I went to take a view of others of a different kind in the KUNTSKAMMER. The first chamber contains a large collection or library of prints, from the very commencement of the art of engraving to this time ; so that among many things highly valuable, there must needs be also a great deal of trash ; but of this I can say but little, the absence of the librarian having prevented my seeing it.

The second is the mineral gallery ; here are the earth and soil of the different countries of the world, and proof has been made of their principles and qualities ; also oars of every denomination, of every country where mines are found, particularly of the tin, lead, copper, silver and gold of the mines of SAXONY : and here I had very striking proofs of the production of solid lumps of the finest metal in mines, as the common earth produces stones. But what surprized me more, was the metal vegetables, if so I may call that which grows on the surface of the earth ; here were some of gold of above two inches high, and of silver about six inches. The SAXONS esteem themselves superior to any nation in the knowledge of minerals ; they have reduced it so much to a science, that many of the students at the university of FRIBURG, apply themselves more immediately to this study, the agreeable pursuit of which must open a new creation to those who have considered only the superficies of the material



rial world. In this chamber were all kinds of stones and marbles of different countries, with whatever of this sort can improve or entertain the curious. Here is also the pearl which is found in the river ELSTER; likewise the mineral ASBESTOS; it is of a white or silver colour, its parts or fibres are divisible; they feel as soft as silk, and it has this extraordinary property, that fire cleanses without consuming it. The more extraordinary thing is a magnet of two foot and a half, which I compute to be not quite an ounce troy that supports near five pounds of iron.

The third chamber consists of things petrified, particularly pieces of wood, some animals, and many fish. There are also birds eggs in their proper nests. They told me that the waters of KARLSBAD have this effect of petrifying, and that most of these things are from thence.

The fourth chamber is very large, there are different sorts of wood and vegetables; of the former is a cabinet with 350 squares as big as the palm of a large hand, run in flat as drawers, being all of different sorts. In this apartment are the pictures of a man and his wife who lived near TAMESWAR; he reached the age of 185, she of 172 years. I have seen copies of these pictures, which were presented by general BRETLACH the emperor's ambassador to the RUSSIAN court, to count BESTUCHEFF the great chancellor. They also shew here a table of tamarinth, of one piece of 2 ells three quarters, and yet they pretend it is only half the diameter of the tree which produced it.

The fifth chamber is a small cabinet of skeletons and other anatomical curiosities. The sixth consists of many sorts of animals, the skins of which are stuffed, particularly crocodiles, leopards, monkeys, stags, &c. and several monstrous births of beasts. There is a figure of a stag of great size made of hartshorn, which is pretended to be a specific against the effects of poison: the plate hanging on the breast of it has this inscription, E CORNU CERVI FACTUS, CONTRA VENENA PROSUM. It is possible this may allude to the frequent exercise of hunting, as a cure of those disorders incidental to luxury and indolence. The seventh chamber  
is



is of the skins of fishes stuffed. I observed particularly that of the sea lion, mentioned in lord ANSON's voyages. The eighth has a great quantity of different kinds of shells. The ninth is of amber, of which material there is a cabinet of about six feet high and four broad; every drawer has some natural curiosity in amber. The tenth is a grotto with water springs. The eleventh has many curiosities in coral. The twelfth contains the skeletons of lions, bears, &c. of a prodigious size, and the stuffed skins of some extraordinary beasts, particularly of a horse, whose mane is three ells and a half long, and his tail twelve ells and a half. I did not measure either, but was satisfied of the great curiosity, from the apparent length of them, which is indeed prodigious.

From these apartments I was conducted to another more remote, to see a model cut in cedar, of the temple of SOLOMON, as described in the old testament, and other antient authorities. This piece cost 12,000 crowns, and much labour has been bestowed on it; it represents the ark, the sanctum sanctorum, the sacrifices, and all other rites and ceremonies of the MOSAIC law.

The next object that engaged my curiosity, was the king's gallery of pictures, which, since the purchase of the duke of MODENA's collection, is one of the finest in the world. The SAXONS say the ITALIANS lament the parting with that collection; and that forty young noblemen and gentlemen now take DRESDEN in their travels, to one who formerly visited that city. Part of the collection consists in one hundred capital pieces, which are said to be all originals, though the connoisseurs will not acknowledge it: it is certain however that they cost half a million of crowns; and the whole collection, which consists of above two thousand pieces, are valued between two and three millions of crowns<sup>p</sup>. There are many pieces which are said to be inimitable, particularly our Saviour curing the sick; and the shepherds finding him immediately after his birth, by CORREGGIO. These pictures not being ranged in proper order, appear to disadvan-

<sup>p</sup> Near 500,000 l.



tage; but it is certain that the choicest works of RAPHAEL, RUBENS, CORREGIO, and all the top masters, are exhibited in the most magnificent profusion. A young woman twenty one years of age, a daughter of the director RIDEL, paints admirably, and promises to be one of the greatest genius of the age; and TORELLI, a lad of eleven years only, follows her very close. But the greatest delight which his POLISH majesty takes, is in a small gallery, all of portraits in crayons; the greatest part of them are of persons with whom the king was acquainted in his travels, particularly in ITALY. Most of these pieces are performed by signiora ROSALBA; they are certainly very beautiful. Among these pictures they shew one of a certain ITALIAN lady, who is reported to have wasted the estates of half a dozen ENGLISH lords, and as many ENGLISH gentlemen; but this seems to arise from accidents which have happened in past times.

The next curiosity is the CHINESE palace, so called from the taste of the building, and the intention of furnishing it with porcelain. The ornaments of the architecture, and the relievo in the frontispiece, are after the CHINESE and JAPAN manner. This palace stands on the ELBE, and commands a view of the bridge and of the ROMISH chapel, but it is far from being an elegant building, and is situated too near the river. The vaults of this palace consist of fourteen apartments, filled with CHINA and DRESDEN porcelain; one would imagine there was sufficient quantity to stock a whole country, and yet they say, with an air of importance, that 100,000 pieces more are wanted to compleat the intention of furnishing this single palace, which is not large.

Perhaps it may be some indulgence, to a female curiosity at least, to be informed concerning this brittle commodity, which has been so passionately fought for by the fair sex. But can this passion be deemed a folly when we see even mighty princes<sup>a</sup> pride themselves in it? Here are a great number of porcelain figures of dogs, squirrels, monkeys, wolves, bears, leopards, &c. some of them as big as the life; also elephants and

<sup>a</sup> His majesty of PRUSSIA sometimes calls his brother of POLAND, the porcelain king.



rhinoceros's of the size of a large dog ; a prodigious variety of birds, as cocks, hens, turkeys, peacocks, pheasants, hawks, eagles, besides parrots and other foreign birds, and a curious collection of different flowers. The apostles near three feet high, are in white porcelain. There is a representation of the crucifixion four or five feet high, with numerous other curious pieces : these last are intended for the ROMISH chapel, which I have already observed is to be furnished with these rare materials. A clock is preparing for the gallery in this palace, whose bells are to be also of porcelain : I heard one of them proved, and they are sufficient to form any music ; but the hammers must be of wood.

A superstitious reverence for this extraordinary production has induced his majesty to preserve some of the first efforts of the porcelain fabric, and other performances in their several gradations, to the perfection the art is now arrived : nor is this pious concern confined to his own manufactures ; here is a great number of plates and dishes of the old porcelain of CHINA, invaluable in the esteem of those whose ideas are refined above common capacities. But what is most amazingly wonderful, are the 48 CHINA vases, which do not appear to be of any use, nor to be any ways extraordinary except their great size ; and yet his late POLISH majesty discovered such captivating charms in these inanimate beauties, that he purchased them of the late king of PRUSSIA, at the price of a whole regiment of dragoons. The long gallery in the second story had already two marble chimney-pieces, each adorned with near 40 very large pieces of porcelain, of birds, beasts, and vases, ranged to the height of above 20 feet in a most superb taste, the figures being all made so natural, that I could conceive no idea superior in this kind. All sorts of rich hangings, glasses, tables, chairs, &c. are brought into the apartments, but kept packed and covered, the walls remaining bare for four years. The palace in general is unfinished, and it may be presumed that the KING himself is tired of the vanity of an unnecessary variety, and of such a profusion of expensive baubles.

Before I finish this chapter, I must beg leave to make some further remarks with relation to the SAXON porcelain, which has not only infatu-



ated many fair admirers, but extended its reputation to the remotest corners of the earth. Baron BOTGAR, a miner about 46 years since, first began to make this porcelain: his first trial was the red, and from thence he proceeded to glazing, and since that, gilding and painting have been carried to an amazing perfection. In order to preserve this art as much as possible a secret, the fabric at MEISSEN, which is near this city, is rendered impenetrable to any but those who are immediately employed about the work, and the secret of mixing and preparing the metal is known to very few of them. They are all confined as prisoners, and subject to be arrested if they go without the walls; and consequently a chapel and every thing necessary is provided within. There are about 700 men employed, most of whom have not above ten GERMAN crowns a month, and the highest wages are forty, so that the annual expence is not estimated above 80,000 crowns. This manufacture being entirely for the king's account, he sells yearly to the value of 150,000 and sometimes 200,000 crowns<sup>r</sup>, besides the magnificent presents he occasionally makes, and the great quantity he preserves for his own use. They pretend they cannot execute fast enough, the commissions which they receive even from ASIA, as well as from all parts of EUROPE, and are consequently under no necessity of lowering the enormous prices; however this must be the consequence ere long, if the ENGLISH and FRENCH continue to make such great improvements in this art. It is with great satisfaction that I observe the manufactories of BOW, CHELSEA and STEPNEY have made such a considerable progress. On the other hand it is equally a subject of horror to see so many shops in the streets of LONDON supplied with the porcelain of DRESDEN, though it is importable only under oath of being for private use, and not for sale.

<sup>r</sup> 35,000l.



## C H A P. XXXVII.

*Remarks on the government in SAXONY. A short account of count BRUHL's great wealth, wardrobe, gallery of pictures, &c. Of the king's gardens. Expences of the court. National debt, taxes, and revenues of SAXONY. A short account of St. HUBERTSBURG. Of the trade, inhabitants, churches, &c. in LEIPSIG.*

THE distressed condition of this electorate, which the reader must have observed in the foregoing pages, is occasioned not more by the unavoidable incidents of war and invasions, and by the general depravation of the inhabitants, than by the iniquity of a few. The subjects of the electors of GERMANY, with one exception, have ever changed their condition for the worse, when the regal has been joined to the electoral dignity; for the royal authority, as in the case of POLAND, has generally been employed to oppress instead of supporting them; and the numerous connections attending kingly government, have involved the security and independency of the electorate. Those who have any feeling of human miseries, must needs fall into serious reflections in viewing the expensive collections of curiosities mentioned in the last chapter. If the virtue of the man abstractedly considered, is preferable to the externals of a king; to seek the happiness of one single family is more glorious in the sight of God, than to possess all the useless rarities in the cabinets of this electorate.

In the ordinary computation of greatness as derived from wealth and power, count BRUHL is incomparably the greatest man in SAXONY. The people say that he has bought estates in POLAND to the amount of 20 millions of florins<sup>f</sup>, verifying the scriptures, that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light," for he has wisely provided a store out of the reach of the SAXONS, whilst they have no other satisfaction than making lampoons on him and his patroness the queen. He has also several estates in SAXONY, and moveables to

<sup>f</sup> 833,333 l.



the value of six millions of dollars : whether these accounts are exaggerated, as is probable, from the little love which the people bear him, I know not ; but he owes large sums, as if he meant to make it the interest of his creditors to preserve him during the present king's reign. The electoral prince, though unfortunate in his person, is a man of sense and virtue, and sees the conduct of this minister in a true light. Count BRUHL, they say, is allowed above half a million of dollars annually for the national service and the support of his office.

The world can produce many remarkable instances of very good and very evil actions, done for the sake of a mistress or a friend, for the desire of gold, or the thirst of power : but to what idol does that man offer incense, whom no less than three or four hundred suits of rich cloaths will satisfy ? Count BRUHL has collected all the finest colours of all the finest cloths, velvets, and silks of all the manufactures, not to mention the different kinds of lace and embroideries, of EUROPE. He calls for his book of patterns, which are numbered, and chuses that suit which pleases his fancy for the day. They boast that he has boots and shoes in proportion to his cloaths. The keeper of this notable wardrobe was absent, so that I did not see it, but I am perfectly well satisfied of its being in nothing inferior to report.

The palace of this lord has been built at several different times. The apartments are elegant and richly furnished, but not many of them magnificent : they have lustres of porcelain in beautiful figures ; the tables are set off with variety of tea equipages, and figures of men and women, birds and beasts of porcelain. The drawing room is pannelled with looking-glasses, and adorned with rich paintings, and his cabinet furnished with enamels and crayons. This house and the gardens belonging to it are situated on the ELBE, near the bridge, and command a pleasant prospect. His library, which is in the garden, is 220 feet long, and well furnished with books ; but the most striking object is the gallery of pictures, which though it does not contain a fourth part so many as the royal gallery, is incomparably more magnificent, being



being 156 ells long, which is 18 longer than that of VERSAILLES. The pictures are set off to great advantage, being ranged only on one side: the windows fronting them are very lofty, and afford light sufficient to point out the minutest beauties of this excellent collection. The pannels between the casements are of looking-glass, against which are placed busts and statues that have a very grand effect.

The king's gardens are agreeable, though they want those natural beauties which an inequality of ground affords. The palace situated in them is small, but the avenue leading to it is grand, and of a considerable length. At the front is the field for the turnaments, and behind a fine piece of water: the sides compose the gardens, which are in a natural taste; here is a profusion of marble statues, of which many pieces are bigger than the life, and seem to be well executed. Most of them shew the genius of their first master the late king, who being entirely devoted to amours, was proud of proclaiming it even to after ages, so long as these statues shall remain as monuments of his lasciviousness. Many of them are already injured by time, and neglected.

The ORANGERY, which is in another part of the town, has 400 orange trees of a very large size, and remarkably strait. There are many exotics, but nothing struck me so much as a strawberry tree cultivated from a plant, and grown three yards high, spreading near as much, and yielding fruit<sup>t</sup>.

During my stay here, I heard much of the splendor and great passion for amusement which reigns at this court, even to the giving pensions to ITALIAN fingers after they leave the country. How different is this court from that of BRANDENBURG? Here 6500 ducats are yearly allowed for comfits and such articles, which is near twice as much as the king of PRUSSIA allows for his table<sup>u</sup>, as I have observed already. Yet SAXONY is said to owe forty millions of dollars, the interest of which since the late king's death, is not regularly paid; so that the stuer<sup>w</sup>, which was at

<sup>t</sup> There are of the same kind in ENGLAND.

<sup>u</sup> Fifty dollars a day in SAXONY for sweetmeats and spices, and thirty in BRANDENBURG for the whole table, fish and wine excepted.

<sup>w</sup> Government security.



2 per cent. above par, and gave an interest of 5 per cent. is now at a large discount.

The king of PRUSSIA bought up several of the stuer bills, at a considerable discount, no doubt with an intention of being paid; the numbers of his bailiffs might easily procure an execution on his debtor. This alarmed the court of SAXONY, and induced it to borrow a large sum of some of the neighbouring states, who very prudently required the security of land.

The revenues of the elector of SAXONY are said to be near 8 millions<sup>x</sup> of dollars, consequently superior to those of the house of BRANDENBURG; and yet since the late reductions, SAXONY supports 20,000 men only<sup>y</sup>, and groans under a heavy national debt, whilst PRUSSIA has above 100,000 men, and is free from all incumbrances of this sort. These revenues arise from the taxes on land, and a capitation of about six dollars on all males when they are made apprentices, or begin to work. The people of a higher rank are taxed according to their class, and subject to be called to account if they put themselves in a lower class than is consistent with their estates: even foreigners pay capitation after being six months in the country; but this method in general of raising money is complained of as unequal, and consequently unjust. The people also pay a heavy tax, under a notion of quarters for the army. Some houses of no very great consequence, are taxed at 120 dollars, others as far as 300.

The JEWS are taxed at 50 dollars, their wives 30, and children 20, with some respect however to their abilities. There is also an excise on all eatables and liquors; and besides this, a gratuity which was given the king, of near 10 per cent. on the incomes of the people, is now reduced to a tax. Thus the value of land estates is sunk extremely low. The king has also a tenth of whatever the silver mines of particular property produce; and some mines belong to the crown.

<sup>x</sup> 1,575,000 l.  
and fifty thousand men.

<sup>y</sup> The standing forces of the electorate are generally reckoned between forty



The miseries of which the SAXONS complain, may be dated so early as 1706, at which period CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN glutted his army with the spoils of all that country, except DRESDEN: AUGUSTUS having shut himself up in that city, determined to defend it, though he did not think it proper to detain the person of CHARLES, who ventured to make him an insulting visit. The war in which SAXONY was involved the beginning of this century, cost her an immense sum. The last war of six weeks only, created an expence of six millions of dollars, and many thousands of her best troops; yet do not the people so much complain of the calamities of war as of the want of œconomy at court, and the excessive expence and ambition of a minister. Count HENECA, who is the director of the FINANCES, they acknowledge to be a man of abilities, but he cannot answer the calls made on him for money.

The king is a man of a mild disposition; he leaves the weight of business to the queen, and his favourite the count. His majesty is now <sup>2</sup> about fifty four, and, contrary to the custom of princes, has been constant to the queen, who is three years younger than himself. The people often complain aloud of their grievances; even the king's confessor has in vain attempted to make his majesty sensible of the evils under which this country groans; but his PASSION is for curiosities <sup>3</sup>.

Mr. CALKOEN, who had been lately ambassador to the OTTOMAN PORT, on the part of his masters the states of the UNITED PROVINCES, was now here as envoy and plenipotentiary to the king of POLAND: I was introduced to him, and very politely received: he is reputed a man of a generous disposition. We discoursed concerning NADIR SHAH, on which occasion he mentioned several instances of the panic which the PERSIAN arms had struck at the OTTOMAN PORT. It was said that this gentleman's chief business here was to negotiate for the security of the interest which the subjects of the STATES have in the stuer. He had resided some time in ENGLAND, and professed himself an admirer of our nation. I was at his

<sup>2</sup> 1749.      <sup>3</sup> I was actually told that half a million of dollars intended for part of a payment due to the king of PRUSSIA, was paid away for the duke of MODENA's pictures.



table in company with POLANDERS, ITALIANS, FRENCH and GERMANS; he asked me which of the countries I had seen was the most agreeable, and where a man of sentiments would chuse to live. I told him my knowledge of the world was very limited; that I had seen a great deal of misery in one shape or other in every country where I had been; but after pausing I determined in favour of ENGLAND. The company seemed surprized at my hesitation, and then gave their suffrage by a loud, but polite applause. Many things were said on this occasion in favour of this happy isle. Would to God it had fewer blemishes! we ought however to be watchful of that reputation for which foreigners of sentiment so universally give us a distinguished preference.

The season being far advanced, I thought it necessary to hasten my departure. It was not without reluctance I left a scene which at the same time it gives occasion of compassion for the distresses of the people, affords travellers a great field of amusement, but most of all when the court is in that city. There is hardly any place in EUROPE more devoted to pleasures and diversions; but we see the consequence of this excessive indulgence, though confined to a court. What has not that nation then to dread, whose people in general free themselves from restraints beyond the measure which health will bear, and beyond the bounds which prudence or justice warrants? The SAXONS amidst their sufferings are gentle in their manners. They have the greatest passion for music and poetry of any of the GERMANS; even the peasants have a rural taste of them: and they have some able men in these sciences.

The 30th of August I left DRESDEN, and travelled towards MEISSEN on the banks of the ELBE. The delightfulness of the weather contributed much towards heightening the natural beauties of this country. The corn fields and gardens, meadow lands and pastures, produced a charming effect. Here the eastern banks of the ELBE are adorned with a great number of vineyards, some of which are admirably situated to receive all the advantages which the sun can afford in this latitude; but the people frustrate their own end, by suffering the vines to grow too high, and with  
too



too great a luxuriancy, so that the grapes do not arrive to that maturity which a more judicious cultivation might afford. The people are extremely industrious, and no ground is lost; some of the steepest hills are supported by many terrasses. As we approach to MEISSEN the valley grows very narrow, and part of the houses on the banks are built on rocks, which rise perpendicular from the river, and form a very agreeable and romantic view.

The castle at MEISSEN, in which is the porcelain manufactory, stands on the western bank of the ELBE, three GERMAN miles from DRESDEN: it is a very large building, and a place of some defence. I had an opportunity of being confirmed with what secrecy this manufactory is conducted, for there is no admittance into the most common part of the work, without an order from the governor of DRESDEN; nor are the workmen ever seen without the gates of this strong hold. Here I passed the ELBE on a bridge, and after mounting a steep ascent I came into a plain country: the road is good, and the soil rich and well cultivated; towns, woods and pasture lands are agreeably intermixed, and combine to give an idea of riches and pleasure; yet the inhabitants are poor, for the taxes fall heavy on the labourer. I arrived at STAUB two GERMAN miles and a half, and from thence to St. HUBERTSBURG two GERMAN miles and a half; the country every where appearing pleasant.

This is a palace intended for the pleasure of hunting, of which I have already observed the SAXON court is immoderately fond. The adjacent country is proper for the sport; and the king's dogs and horses are kept in order by being exercised twice a week. The hunting equipage of the SAXON court is the more gay and brilliant, as an uniform of yellow cloth laced with silver is worn on these occasions by every one who appears in the field. The palace is large, but not magnificent, nor was it yet entirely finished. The six apartments intended for the queen are lined with green damask laced with gold, and those for the king of crimson, in the same taste. The dining-room, which is round, is an elegant apartment: the gallery is of a good size, and



ready to receive the fine pictures which the king had already marked for that purpose from amongst his collection in DRESDEN. There is a handsome lustre of porcelain, which had been sent as a present from FRANCE as FRENCH manufacture, which appeared to me but little inferior to that of SAXONY. There is a picture of St. FRANCIS XAVIER, supported by an angel, done in crayons by the hands of the king's daughter, now the dauphiness of FRANCE. As this alliance flattered the ambition of the SAXONS, the king had promised great amusements to his people whenever this lady should bring a son into the world. The gardens of this palace were small, but the situation admirable, and the ground already laid out for the enlargement of them.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> I left St. HUBERTSBURG; the roads in this neighbourhood are very good, and where the soil is inferior, industry seems to supply the deficiency. Having travelled two GERMAN miles, I arrived at WURTZEN, which is a market town on the river MOLLEN, and has 400 houses. From hence to LEIPSIG is three GERMAN miles; some parts of the road are sandy and disagreeable, though the land produces grain; and there are several towns and villages. From DRESDEN to LEIPSIG is 12 GERMAN miles and a half.

LEIPSIG is one of the greatest trading towns in GERMANY; its situation is advantageous, for a place that has no river of consequence near it. MAGDEBURG, which is situated on the ELBE, is 14 GERMAN miles and a half distance, and merchandize is brought from HAMBURG by that channel. What has distinguished this city through a long series of years, is the liberty of conscience which has been indulged to all sorts of people. As a consequence of this indulgence, they have been industrious in the cultivation of knowledge and moral accomplishments: the university established here has notwithstanding of late years declined very much. The several princes of GERMANY have the wisdom to encourage learning within their own dominions; add to this the neighbourhood of HALL, where the students enjoy advantages in point of cheap living much superior to this place. Notwithstanding this, the number of those in LEIPSIG is yet very considerable.

The



The wool which is collected in this city is an important article, and contributes much to the wealth of the citizens. They have some rich manufactures, and are much distinguished for painted cloths, in imitation of tapestry. Wars and invasions, with the want of œconomy at court, have much humbled the pride of the citizens, and reduced that luxury which the advantages of commerce had introduced amongst them. The visit which the king of PRUSSIA made them was yet fresh in their minds; and the heavy contributions imposed on them, set heavy at their hearts. In this place are three fairs kept annually, viz. NEW YEAR'S DAY, EASTER, and MICHAELMAS. Formerly these were all very considerable, but now that of EASTER only. To these resort POLANDERS, HUNGARIANS, BOHEMIANS, PRUSSIANS, and people from all parts of GERMANY; also FRENCH and ITALIANS, and even RUSSIANS come hither, and bring the produce of their respective countries. MAGDEBURG supplies it with tobacco, which is the growth of that place: the quantity of this article consumed in GERMANY is prodigious: I have known a common postilion fill his pipe thrice in the space of two GERMAN miles.

Accompts are kept here in dollars and goete groschen, of which 24 make a dollar: a ducat passes for two dollars three quarters. Sundry coins are current, but the pure SAXON silver money is as hard to be found here as in DRESDEN. The exchange on AMSTERDAM is ordinarily about 130 dollars for 100 rix dollars current of the UNITED PROVINCES. Their centner is 110 lbs. different from the ENGLISH weight about two and a half per cent. Their ell is 22 inches and a half ENGLISH.

Here are about 40,000 inhabitants within the gates, of which 16 families are FRENCH refugees: the suburbs also are filled with people. They have six churches for the LUTHERANS, which is the established religion, one for the reformed, and a chapel for the ROMAN CATHOLICS in the castle; but this last is not permitted to use bells. They have introduced a new kind of luxury even in their devotion: one of the capital churches has a number of chapels projected about six feet from the main wall, through which they communicate with the church, each chapel having its distinct door.



door without. Some of the richest citizens have bestowed on these auxiliary buildings 1500 or 2000 dollars. The sober part of the people think the expence had been better bestowed on the poor, as the affectation of so great a distinction is by no means consistent with that equality which is supposed to be among men in their addresses to the Almighty. It seems to be the remains of that passion which the ROMANISTS have for the splendid embellishments of their temples. The contrary of this may be seen in some countries, where the house of God is oftentimes left in a worse condition than a stable: by a pretence of not drawing away the attention by material objects, they make no provision for common decency, nor sometimes for common protection against the weather. The people here are religious, and it is a constant custom observed, to shut their shops every friday morning; and during their devotions, which last till ten o'clock, if any person presume to sell any thing, they are subject to the fine of ten crowns.

The fortifications of LEIPSIG seem rather calculated for the use of the inhabitants to walk on, than for defence. These have however four stone gates, and the citizens support 200 soldiers; this exempts them from quarters, though they are otherwise subject to be taxed as arbitrarily as any other town in SAXONY. This city is of a very small extent, but the houses are lofty as well as elegant in their fronts. Some of them have three stories of cellars, and granaries on the top of the houses to the number of three or four stories, so that the whole makes an appearance of seven, eight, or nine stories. The streets are clean, commodious, and agreeable, and there are two large squares which are used as market-places. But what adds much to the agreeableness of this city, are the gardens which surround it, particularly the APEL<sup>b</sup> garden, which is in an excellent taste, considering that it is almost upon a flat. The statues are very indifferent, yet so ranged as to produce a pleasing effect. This garden was much in esteem with the late king AUGUSTUS, but at present it is supported by the contributions of the citizens.

<sup>b</sup> A man's name.



## C H A P. XXXVIII.

*A short account of the inhabitants and revenues of ANHALT KÆTHEN, ANHALT DESSAU, BINBURG and ZERBST. A succinct view of MAGDEBURG and WOLFENBUTTEL. Of the revenues and forces of the court of BRUNSWIC, with a view of the ducal palace and gallery of pictures at SALTZDALEN.*

SEPTEMBER the second I took leave of my friends in LEIPSIG, and departed for LANDSPERG; the road near LEIPSIG was full of waggons loaded with merchandize. The land is every where well cultivated, but not inclosed. HALL, which is subject to PRUSSIA, appeared at a small distance: it is famous for its schools and university, particularly for students in physic. At LANDSPERG, which is three GERMAN miles and a half, we entered the PRUSSIAN dominions; the passage from one sovereignty to another in these parts, is very frequent: from thence, passing through ROTHENBURG, which is the frontier of SAXONY, bordering on the petty sovereignty of the prince of ANHALT KOETHEN, I arrived at the city KOETHEN, distant four GERMAN miles.

This is a considerable place, the inhabitants being computed near 15,000. They have three churches, and the principal manufacture of gold and silver lace in GERMANY. It employs near a thousand persons: the usual expence of their wages is 1500 dollars a week. They manufacture here yearly to the value of near a million of dollars, for which there is a demand all over GERMANY as well as abroad. The SAXONS acknowledge that the inhabitants of these little independent sovereignties of KOETHEN, DESSAU, BINBURG, and ZERBST, live in the land of milk and honey; whilst the knowledge which these people have of what the SAXONS and BRANDENBURGERS suffer, convinces them that they are really happy. Indeed these were the only people, considered as a state, which before or since that time I ever heard talk without complaining.

These petty princes possess lands sufficient for their expences, their revenues being reckoned about half a million of dollars. The tax on lands



is 4 per cent. which rating them at 20 years purchase, is not quite one shilling in the pound. Upon an emergency the subjects are capable of raising half a million extraordinary. According to the constitution of the empire, each of these princes is obliged to cloath, arm, and support 100 men in time of war, for the emperor's service. The towns in these little states are not so numerous in proportion to the extent of country as in SAXONY, but better peopled. The young prince of ANHALT KOETHEN has a palace in this town, but it is in a ruinous condition. He supports a body of 250 men, who are well cloathed; his revenues are computed at 160,000 dollars. He was now about 19 years of age, of a very remarkable comeliness, and engaged in the service of the king of DENMARK.

The third, I travelled through a country well cultivated, but not of so rich a soil as most parts of SAXONY. SALTZA, which lies in the road, is famous for refining salt made from an adjacent spring of salt water. The river SAAL divides the dominions of ANHALT KOETHEN, and BRANDENBURG: passing over it in a ferry I entered KALBE, where I found near a regiment of PRUSSIAN soldiers, and was interrogated as usual under PRUSSIAN discipline. This was the first and last place in which I was pilfered; I discovered the thief and obtained restitution, and was inclined to have him chastised, till I learnt that the punishment would be more severe than the nature of the crime seemed to require.

The security with which one travels in this part of the world, is a circumstance much to be commended. Here the people are sober and serious; the duties of morality are taught and inculcated, not by priests only, but by parents: and as a natural consequence of a religious sense of things; thefts and robberies in time of peace<sup>c</sup> are hardly known amongst the GERMANS. This is imputable to a strict discipline, but it also arises from the early impressions of religion, which so apparently prevail in this country.

From KALBE to MAGDEBURG is four GERMAN miles; the road is extremely good. If it is warrantable to travel on the sabbath-day without

<sup>c</sup> In time of war travelling is said to be dangerous.



neceffity, we ought at leaft to perform the duty of public worfhip : I heard a good difcourfe in one of the FRENCH reformed churches. I have already taken notice of the piety of the LUTHERANS, particularly as expreffed in finging. On my entrance into MAGDEBURG, a band of vocal muficians, compofed of twelve ftudents, after morning fervice, were finging at the doors of the citizens : this is but a genteeler way of begging ; however it cannot be faid to encourage idlenefs. The performance pleafed me fo well that I engaged them for a fhort time, and they received a fmall gratuity<sup>d</sup> with great thankfulness. Here are two reformed, one FRENCH LUTHERAN, and eight GERMAN LUTHERAN churches, all which have been rebuilt fince 1631.

This town was then facked and burnt, and the inhabitants put to the fword by the emperor's general, count TILLY. The king of PRUSSIA, in his memoirs of the houfe of BRANDENBURG, mentions a very remarkable instance of heroic virtue, viz. " That twelve hundred virgins drowned themfelves in the ELBE, as the only means of preferving their chaftity from the violation to which it was expofed. Thefe examples, adds this author, are admirable, but they are rare. If the ftory appears fabulous, it ought to be imputed to the corruption of our manners, or that the fact is not properly attested." It is poffible that a fense of honour, joined to the terrors of a cruel enemy, might drive numbers to this extremity, efpecially as very few of the inhabitants were faved from the fword, except fourteen hundred who fhut themfelves up in the cathedral. I had the pleafure to find here feveral agreeable perfons of both fexes, to whom the letters I carried procured me an introduction. Indeed I every where experienced advantages of this kind, which, though I travelled alone, rendered my journey improving and delightful.

This place is remarkable for its great magazines, for the reception of merchandize brought from HAMBURG on the ELBE, and from hence fent by land to LEIPSIG and other parts. Some of the veffels employed

<sup>d</sup> Twelve grofch, or twenty one pence.



for this purpose are of 70 lafts, and though their fides are very thin, are generally deeply loaded; they are flat bottomed, and draw at moft three feet water. The current near the town is very ftrong. There are fourteen floating mills for grinding corn; and to prevent the ill confequences of a rapid fream, a fluice is prepared for the fafer paffage of veffels with merchandize. Here are fome manufactories and remarkable buildings: in the great fquare at the main guard, is an antient ftatue of the emperor OTHO, who in the year 930 is faid to have founded this city.

The fortifications of this place are very remarkable, and diftinguifhed through all EUROPE. There are fix deep foffes: this, together with the lownefs of their works, renders the place very ftrong. Here were three regiments, amounting to 4000 men; but to defend fo large a town, a much greater number is neceffary.

The fourth, I travelled on to AKERRESLABEN, two GERMAN miles from MAGDEBURG, which is therefore fometimes preferred as the moft convenient ftage, though it is more than half a GERMAN mile out of the way. The GERMAN poftilions wear the liveries of the country they belong to; in BRANDENBURG it is blue, in SAXONY yellow; they bear the king's arms, and pay a tax of one third of the hire of horfes to the crown. They are frequently infolent, or ftupidly regardless of their duty to ftrangers. They ufe fmall FRENCH horns, the found of which is fhri1l; fome of them play tunes in no difagreeable manner, but the majority make a fhocking noife. Brandy, or uncommon fees of drink-money will induce them to travel faft, otherwife they are infupportably dilatory.

I was yet in the PRUSSIAN dominions, when my poftilion attempted to pafs by a particular way, and avoid the payment of a fmall road duty; upon this an officer, who was pofted at an avenue to prevent this practice, rode up, ftopped my chariot, and feized one of the horfes as a trefpafs. He would not defift till I alighted with my pistol, and let him know, that whatever fault the poftilion had committed, it could by no means reach me, who had paid for the horfes according to the laws, and was travelling under the protection of thofe laws; therefore if he pre-



presumed to detain me, I would resist him as a robber, upon which he thought proper to let me pass.

The next place we came to, was the city of HELMSTET, belonging to the duke of BRUNSWIC; it is surrounded with an old fortification, and had a garrison of 200 of the duke's troops. Here are 200 students, who are chiefly supported by the bounty of their sovereign. From thence I departed for WOLFENBUTTEL, being four very long GERMAN miles; the road is good but the country hilly, and the vallies abound in cattle. There are several groves of oaks, which being kept perfectly clean, have a charming effect. The inhabitants of the towns and villages have the appearance of great health and easy circumstances. A few miles to the eastward of this road are several mines of iron, copper, silver, and, they say, some gold also. In the dominions of the duke of BRUNSWIC, as well as in those of the elector of SAXONY, there is a great variety of oar, which constitutes a considerable part of their revenues. Among such as are remarkable, they reckon that which is of a deep emerald with silver coloured points, like thorns; this oar is said to contain a proportion of gold also.

I arrived at WOLFENBUTTEL after the gates were shut, but I procured admission<sup>e</sup>. The houses here are low, but the streets clean. The fortification is very neat and regular, but not calculated for any great defence. The small river OKAR fills a mote round it, and affords water to the inhabitants in a very convenient manner. Without the walls is an antient palace belonging to the duke, which is rather convenient than grand: here are several apartments well furnished, and two small galleries of pictures. In this city there is a good arsenal and library: I declined seeing it from an opinion that the simple view of libraries, without examining their contents, is a more barren entertainment than surveying the sky, without thinking of him who made it.

<sup>e</sup> There is a rate fixed, three grosch for a vehicle, and one for a horse, for opening the gates after a certain hour.



The next day I went on to BRUNSWIC. About an ENGLISH mile from WOLFENBUTTEL is the palace of ANTOINENBURG, belonging to the duke's mother. For near two ENGLISH miles the road is bordered by trees and groves of wood: the whole way, which is short of two GERMAN miles, is agreeable. The walls of BRUNSWIC are lofty, and the fortifications of no mean note. This is the residence of the prince, whom we stile duke of WOLFENBUTTEL; his majesty the king of GREAT BRITAIN, is a branch of that family, and takes the title of duke of BRUNSWIC. The garrison consisted of five regiments. The duke's forces are estimated 13,000, but I have reason to believe the real number was then only 9000, of which 2000 are invalids. This is a great number for so small a state to support: why so many are kept in pay in time of profound peace, is owing to the pride of these GERMAN princes, and the custom of their forefathers. Add to this, that they sometimes receive subsidies from great princes, in consequence of which they are obliged to keep up a number of forces. The BRUNSWIC troops are very clean, and cloathed much after the PRUSSIAN manner; but the men are smaller, their arms lighter, and their exercise not so exact.

The arsenal of this city contains nothing very extraordinary: in the ROMISH times they say it was a church in the gothic taste, but now very much changed; as well in the exterior part as the inside, which contains three stories. There are about sixty pieces of brass cannon, several cohorns and mortars, and ten pieces of large brass battering cannon of an enormous size, with a great quantity of small arms, but not all in the best order. It seems to be the folly of most princes to preserve many useless arms, merely for shew, or for the sake of their antiquity.

On the ramparts is a curiosity of a mortar-piece of brass, made in 1411. It is ten feet six inches long, and nine feet two inches diameter, weighing 1800 quintals: it has 93 quintals of iron in the carriage. It will carry a ball of 730 pounds weight to the distance of 3300 paces, and throw a bomb of 1000 weight, but it requires 52 pounds of powder.

Here



Here are several churches, one in particular, which is a very antient gothic building, but the appearance of its antiquity seems to be absorbed in the frequent repairs it has undergone. The top of it is ornamented with twenty large paintings, representing the prophets of the old testament in the clouds of heaven, which gives the building a very solemn air. The high altar is of marble adorned with the statues of the four evangelists, and supported below by MOSES and AARON.

This branch of the house of BRUNSWIC is very numerous, consisting of near thirty persons, who live in great harmony. But this family is unhappy in having one considerable branch in banishment in RUSSIA, and another living in a state of widowhood, the king <sup>f</sup> her husband being alive, and, to appearance, in good health.

The revenues of this country are said not to exceed a million and a half of dollars <sup>e</sup>, and though the court is so numerous, the œconomy of it is such, that the duke has his theatrical and musical entertainments, and foreigners are received with great civility. Persons of great distinction being considered in some measure upon an equality, seldom leave this court without being extremely well satisfied with the reception they meet with. ENGLISH noblemen in particular are well received when they occasionally pass that way. The duke seems to consult his ease and happiness rather than the parade of life. He generally appears in his coach with three other persons of his family. His livery is yellow, laced with a galloon of blue silk and silver, and has usually four footmen behind his coach; two pages in blue cloth laced with silver, on each side of it; and a servant in livery riding before him to prepare the way.

The duke's palace of SALTZDAHLEN is worthy the curiosity of a traveller: it is situated at the distance of a long GERMAN mile from BRUNSWIC, in a very mean village, and the road to it is but indifferent. The greatest part of this palace is of timber; the rooms are mostly lined with painted cloths, which have a taste of grandeur at a small expence. Here I observed the magnificence of a sovereign prince restrained by a parsimonious

<sup>e</sup> 262,000 l.<sup>f</sup> The king of PRUSSIA.



regard to small revenues, and to the necessary support of a family and an army. The garden is in no bad taste, but the statues are very mean. The gallery of pictures is a noble apartment, and its contents not less worthy of attention; the end of it divides into several apartments. The left wing is furnished in a grotesque taste with CHINA porcelain, ranged in an agreeable manner: another is full of painted enamelled ware, great part of which is said to be done by RAPHAEL of URBINO, when he was enamoured with the potter's daughter: but I fancy RAPHAEL never made a tenth part of the quantity which is ascribed to him. This collection is said to be above 200 years standing. Of pictures there are many curious originals, some remarkable for the subject, and others for the execution.

Some of the pictures which struck my fancy, were ADAM and EVE viewing ABEL after his death, and pulling open his eyes; they are supposed to be ignorant in what circumstances he was; ABEL's body appears as turned towards one in three different views; this piece is by STRUDEL: our Saviour on the cross: prince EUGENE the imperial general: LEWIS XIV. and his two mistresses; appear to be fine pieces: the ascension, by VOUGERMAN, is much esteemed; the king of POLAND, they say, would gladly purchase it at any rate: the marriage of two HOLLANDERS, the young man and woman looking tenderly at each other, while the parents are equally attentive to the notary who draws up the articles: the woman of SAMARIA soliciting our Saviour's mercy, pleading the argument of dogs eating crumbs from their master's table: the famous REMBRANDT, his wife and three children in one piece, done by himself: JUDITH and her attendant, an old woman, holding HOLIFERNES's head just cut off, the face yet appearing with some marks of life: SPINOLA a famous SPANIARD, by RUBENS: a FLEMING, by VAN DYKE: TIME plunged into an abyss by ETERNITY: an angel is represented with a ring, whilst old TIME is tumbled headlong, the execution of this piece seems to be much inferior to many others: PETER delivered from prison by the angel, by STEINBECK: a representation of the doctrine of the cross and sacred history, opposing the vain imaginations of prophane history,



tory, and driving away the vicious beings which the heathen gods are represented, by JORDAN: CEPHALUS and PROCRIS, an exceeding fine piece: the representation of ABRAHAM embracing his son after the trial which God made of his faith; piety and joy, here seem to contend with each other, whilst his looks express a seraphic adoration; this piece is done by LIEBENS.

The dutchy of BRUNSWIC carries on a trade of some consequence with BOHEMIA. The country abounds in hops, which are esteemed the best in all GERMANY: they have likewise great plenty of turnips, of the seeds of which they make good oil.

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C H A P. XXXIX.

*The author pursues his journey to the electorate of HANOVER. A brief account of the city of HANOVER, its palace, stables, inhabitants. Of the revenues, soldiery, &c. Reflections on court language. A short account of the palace and garden of HERENHAUSEN.*

THE seventh of September I travelled on to PAINE, three GERMAN miles; this place is in the bishoprick of HILDESHEIM, and now subject to the elector of COLOGNE, whose troops were quartered here. From hence to ZÆHN, a small place in the electorate of HANOVER, is two GERMAN miles; the road is good, but mostly on a heath and barren land.

Here I had an opportunity of discovering a new species of corruption, or rather an insolent abuse of authority. The electorate of HANOVER is distinguished from most others in GERMANY in this instance, that it does not draw any part of the revenues from post horses. They pay here only six grosch a GERMAN mile for each horse, whereas in POMERANIA, BRANDENBURG, and SAXONY, they pay eight. But as in those countries they usually put in four horses to a common chariot, and demand payment only for three, that number being supposed sufficient; in HANOVER they insist on being paid for the four, defeating the intention of the legislature by this act of inhospitable extortion.

From



From ZÆHN to the city of HANOVER is two GERMAN miles; the greatest part of the road is very sandy, and disagreeable; but the soil produces corn, and there are some pleasant groves near the road. The city of HANOVER on this side appears at the distance of a long GERMAN mile, as if it stood in the midst of a wood. Upon entering the HANOVERIAN dominions, I could not help observing a particular difference in the countenances of the inhabitants from those of the BRANDENBURGERS; for though the latter are polite, their persons cleanly, and their houses elegant; yet is there not the same appearance of a comfortable life as in HANOVER. The reason of this will soon appear, from the comparison of the different governments, and different views of their respective sovereigns. The king was now at GHOERD, a hunting-palace 28 GERMAN miles from the city. It is said that twelve hundred persons can be accommodated at this place, where his majesty makes greater expence than at any other diversion. The woods are cut into vistas, and the tract of country so large, that the trees which were blown down in a late storm, though computed at 80,000, are notwithstanding hardly missed.

The connexion which ENGLISH subjects are supposed to have with HANOVER, had almost betrayed me into a persuasion that I should find myself at home there. It is a vulgar notion, that ENGLAND is the chief support of that electorate; how ill founded it may be, I shall not take the pains to enquire; but I could not avoid observing a certain coldness and indifference in ENGLISH travellers in regard to HANOVER, who, though anxious in the dominions of foreign princes, to see things less worthy of note, are apt to pass over this city without any attention.

COUNT WILLIAM BENTINK being in the same inn, did me the honour of a transient visit: this nobleman is particularly polite in his manners, and has a great love for the ENGLISH. The count, who is seigneur of ROON, and of the same family as the duke of PORTLAND, is greatly beloved by all the well-wishers of the house of ORANGE, which, it is said, he had a great share in restoring to the stadtholdership. I had also an  
oppor-



opportunity of paying my respects to a certain noble peer, possessed of many amiable qualities. He gave me as gracious and polite a reception as I had any title to expect, who hardly ever saw him before. As I had no court-dependences, nor were here any temptations to other amusements; I was at liberty to indulge my thoughts in moralizing on this occasion.

A certain emissary from HAMBURG sent, about this time, to the court of HANOVER, returned home in high joy, from the great honour which had been paid him; though not a jot of his business was done. Men unused to the language of courts, may, like Sir FRANCIS WRONGHEAD in the play, be easily deceived into the imaginary possession of riches and honours, when these soft words are spoken by men in the highest ranks of life: but when courtiers are constrained to disguise their sentiments, can we, with any propriety, say, they are so high in dignity, as the private gentleman, who dares to speak the language of his heart, and is under no kind of necessity of speaking any other language?

One of the apartments in the king's palace being appointed as a chapel for the subjects of the church of ENGLAND, I had the pleasure of hearing doctor YOUNG, one of his majesty's chaplains<sup>a</sup>, preach. Whilst we are travelling through countries where we have no particular interest, where we are sojourners only for a few days, in a literal sense; shall we neglect to call to mind that country, where we shall live for ever; or think it an impropriety to blend the consideration of both worlds, whilst they are in their nature so inseparably connected? Whether it was from the great distance of time in which I had not heard any preacher of note, or the excellency of the discourse, set off with the advantages of the doctor's gesture, voice, and propriety of expression; his words seemed to have at least as much force as the sweetest eloquence of the most accomplished courtier. To lend an ear to the courtier, and take his word for some uncertain short-lived good, whilst we

<sup>a</sup> Now master of JESUS college in CAMBRIDGE.



are totally deaf, or carelessly inattentive to that of the priest, who promises certain and eternal felicity, is as common, as for men to think more of this world than of the next.

But, unhappily for mankind, these emissaries from heaven too often utter their important truths with less emotion, and, to APPEARANCE, with less attention to the purport of the words, than the COURTIER can have to his complimentary declarations. It was perhaps on this principle the celebrated Mr. BOOTH justly remarked, that the fictions of the stage have usually penetrated men's hearts, at least for the time, much deeper than the realities which are uttered from the pulpit. To soften this matter, it ought to be remembered, that a strong and harmonious voice, a musical ear, and a devout heart, are things which rarely meet in one and the same man. The great objection seems to consist in this, that the spiritual part of the legislature have declined into an inattention to this article; and custom, joined to the freedom of GREAT BRITAIN, in some measure makes it necessary for them to appoint all persons, who present themselves, if their lives and their learning are unexceptionable, whatever their defects may be in regard to voice, ear, and expression.

There are however many preachers in ENGLAND of admirable skill in oratory: many whose manners, language, and doctrine afford the highest delight to a moral mind; and give occasion to their auditors to show as great marks of their taste, as of their virtue. Unhappy those whose poverty in both, contracts their joys to pleasures of a different nature; pleasures which are rendered valuable only from the expence they create; or such as ought to be shunned, because they are dangerous. The cause of religion seems to suffer with the decline of that respect which is due to a profession, the most dignified in the world. A reverence for priest and for religion, will, in the minds, at least of the common people, ever accompany each other; and, in one sense, there are more common people than is generally imagined. In ENGLAND there seems to be much greater danger from the immorality arising from this cause, than from ecclesiastical power or pride.



HANOVER is, in many respects, pleasant; and, though short of BERLIN, or DRESDEN, it may be deemed elegant: it is every day improving, and the part which is called the new city has several agreeable houses. It is watered by the LEINA, which is a branch of the ALLER, that runs into the WESER, and consequently communicates with BREMEN; but it carries on no trade worth mentioning. The fortifications are not formidable, but the walk round them is very agreeable.

The king's stables are magnificent; besides his riding horses, which were then absent, they contained thirteen complete sets of coach-horses, the most beautiful of their kind.

The palace is situated upon the banks of the LEINA: it has several courts within it. In consequence of a fire, which happened not many years since, great part of it has been rebuilt. The rooms are commodious, as well as grand, and many of them are hung with very rich tapestry, for which this palace is most distinguished. The opera-house, as well as the theatre for the FRENCH comedians, which are both within the palace, are antient, but commodious. The whole is rather rich, decent, and elegant, than splendid; but it has something more solid than any I saw in GERMANY.

The guard is always mounted, and open table is kept even when the king is not in his electoral dominions; at which time the administration, composed of a council of state, is conducted with the utmost dignity. During the whole winter there is a play twice a week, and a concert as often. The courtiers, without exception, take place according to the military rank that is assigned them; at the same time that this feeds their hearts with that pride and emulation, which is one of the great properties of courts in general, it supports that good order and discipline which is essential to a military government.

The king's forces in the electorate are said to be 24,000. They are deservedly distinguished for their valour, of which they gave such signal proof in the late war, that even those politicians, who make it a point to oppose the measures of the government, must confess, that our confidence



in them was more judiciously reposed, than in any other of our good friends and allies. These men do not appear so tall as the ENGLISH soldiers; but, in other respects, bear a great affinity to them. The revenues of the electorate are about four millions of dollars<sup>b</sup>. The finances are said to be in good order, which is not improbable; for although this electorate has been so frequently threatened with invasions, war has not reached its bowels now for a long series of years. A considerable part of the revenue arises from the silver mines. The number of inhabitants in the city of HANOVER hardly exceed fifty thousand.

I was told in BRANDENBURG, that the HANOVERIAN women were remarkable for their beauty; but I confess, that I could not discover any such women; it is true, my eyes were then extremely weak.

But nothing here is so much recommended to the attention of travellers as the king's palace at HEREN-HAUSEN, which lies about two ENGLISH miles to the northward of the city. The way to it is through an agreeable avenue of trees, but the road is sandy. I know not if I was most mortified or surprized, to find a building incomparably short of my expectations; for though in ENGLAND it is said our hospitals are palaces, and our palaces are more proper for hospitals<sup>c</sup>; yet I had fallen into an opinion, that this palace, so much talked of, was indeed grand, and worthy of his majesty. Princes, like other men, have oftentimes prejudices in favour of a paternal inheritance, and the residence of their forefathers. ERNEST AUGUSTUS, the king's grandfather, built this palace about eighty years since<sup>d</sup>: the greatest part of it is of wood, and the apartments in general rather give an idea of a large antient mansion-house of a private gentleman in ENGLAND, than the palace of a great monarch. It has some rich and decent furniture, and good pictures. Charles the first, and prince RUPERT in particular, are said to be originals, and distinguished for their likenesses.

The garden however may justly be admired. I saw none in GERMANY comparable to it, though it wants those exquisite charms and enchanting

<sup>b</sup> 700,000 l.

<sup>c</sup> HAMPTON-COURT, &c. excepted.

<sup>d</sup> In 1670.

variety



variety that an inequality of ground produces, of which we have numerous proofs in GREAT BRITAIN. One side of the garden is covered by a narrow piece of water above a quarter of a mile in length. The walks are mostly of gravel made wide and spacious, large squares and basons dividing the several parts of the garden. The intermediate spaces are formed by lofty groves and orchards: the whole produces a grand effect; but in my judgment not very rural. The statues are mostly of stones, and do not appear to me of the first rank. The jet d'eau, erected by Mr. BENSON in 1716, perhaps exceeds any thing of the sort in the world; it throws the water 70 feet high. Here is also a sylvan theatre according to the GERMAN taste, on which plays and masquerades are sometimes exhibited: it is adorned with statues, and occasionally illuminated in a grand taste. In this palace, it is said, the king most unbends his mind; and whilst he enjoys an uncontrouled authority, has the entire possession of the hearts of his subjects. Such cannot be the limited power of a BRITISH monarch; but he certainly has the sincere love of MUCH the greatest part of his people in GREAT BRITAIN; the real friendship of many near his person, and the veneration, even of those few, who are too much their own enemies to be entirely his friends; and to these we may add a country possessed of all the advantages of nature and art, incomparably superior to the electorate: yet the native born subjects, who judge dispassionately, and enter a little into the human heart, will soon find reasons to consider a king as man like themselves, and reconcile the constancy of his majesty's affections for his HANOVERIAN dominions. Whether such an affection will exist in the minds of this illustrious family in FUTURE ages, FUTURITY only can discover. That the HANOVERIANS are as impatient for the absence of their ELECTOR, as any BRITISH subjects can be of their KING, is obvious; so natural is it to mankind to covet the sight and presence of their sovereign when he is a good prince.

One great topic during my stay at HANOVER, was the treaty just then concluded between the BRITISH crown and the UNITED PROVINCES on the one part, and the elector of BAVARIA on the other, with regard to a supply of forces in case of need; for which BAVARIA is



is to receive an annual subsidy of near 40,000 l. The sufferings of BAVARIA in the late war, one would imagine, were sufficient to detach her elector from FRANCE, though such an emolument had not been given. The generality of people in ENGLAND are apt to complain, that these subsidies are injurious to the honour and welfare of their country; but if it is necessary to support an interest upon the continent, as in some lights it must be granted; these GERMAN princes, whose interest or inclination may induce them to enter into an alliance with us, will as naturally demand of us some kind of reward for their friendship, as the poor expect to be relieved by the bounty of the rich: and although more may be paid for a thing than it is worth; yet, in some cases, is it not as much our interest to give moderate subsidies, as it is for other princes to take them? We see that the FRENCH, who are very acute in their politics, are as little disposed to give something for nothing, as we possibly can be; and yet they pay to PRUSSIA, COLOGN, DENMARK, SWEDEN, POLAND, and the republic of GENOA near 600,000 l. which I apprehend is near twelve times as much as we pay in subsidies\*. As custom is the law of mankind, whilst the system of political interest remains on its present footing, those nations who, by commerce, are in the way of accumulating riches, will have demands on them for part of those riches, whenever the assistance of other princes is, in a certain degree, necessary to preserve that power by which those riches are acquired: and whilst we commit depredations on one another by arts of corruption, even supposing the giving of moderate subsidies to be an evil, if it is such as the conduct of other powers renders necessary, we have the less reason to complain.

\* The last subsidy to SAXONY, together with that of BAVARIA, I believe does not exceed fifty thousand pounds. The most provoking circumstances in regard to paying foreign subsidies, is being deserted in time of need; and yet we are, in this respect, on the same footing as the FRENCH, supposing we give with the same attention to the natural interest of those who receive, as the FRENCH do.









F. Hayman inv. et del.

C. Grignion sculp.



## C H A P. XL.

*A duel fought between two of the king's HANOVERIAN subjects. Reflections on duelling.*

SINCE my arrival in this city<sup>a</sup>, the great subject of discourse was the duel, by which his majesty had just lost Mr. FRICHAPEL and Mr. SWEKEL, two of his principal HANOVERIAN subjects, the one being fled, and the other killed. The latter was a lord of the bed-chamber, and being in favour with the king, he had attended his majesty into HOLLAND, though this office ordinarily belonged to FRICHAPEL as master of the horse: this created a disgust and jealousy, which were inflamed by an occasional insult. Both were said to be equally disposed to refer the decision of the matter to the sword; SWEKEL, though no young man, and short-sighted, was weak enough to comply with the challenge, and lost his life in the unequal combat, much to the regret of the court, and of all lovers of peace and amity.

What a reproach is it to the first magistrates of the CHRISTIAN world, that this custom should be so often connived at! A custom which is considered by MAHOMMEDANS, and even PAGANS, as impious as it is ridiculous. Do princes imagine there is no other way to support military courage and external politeness, but by the sacrifice of religion and humanity? What a disgrace to common sense, that men, of the most gallant spirits in a nation, should thus become the dupes of princes by a compliance with a tyrannical and fantastic rule of conduct, which has no sound politic, nor one good reason to support it?

His majesty, it was said, would have made the survivor shorter by the head, had he remained in the HANOVERIAN dominions<sup>b</sup>. It might be wished that the king would declare, and we ought to believe he would be as good as his word, that any man for the future, who has not courage and resolu-

<sup>a</sup> HANOVER.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. FRICHAPEL has now a regiment in the FRENCH service.



tion enough to obey the laws, nor humanity to forgive, nor even the moderation to appeal to others, shall be deemed a bad man, if not a coward, and receive no mercy, but what the laws will give him. Would it not be more honourable for CHRISTIAN princes to interpose, by banishing from their courts with infamy, every subject, who, being a party, pretends to be also judge, jury, and executioner in his own cause in this important article of life and death?

To take away life contrary to law, is a power which a king ought not to have; and which kings, in our happy isle, must not assume: and shall a subject dare to do it? Yet the fault apparently lies in the breast of princes, that this detestable practice is not suppressed. Princes are the fountain of that honour, which is the principle on which the duellist is supposed to act. The connivance or resentment of a king must feed or dry up the source of this delusion, which is more owing to custom, than to the badness of men's hearts; a custom which, in the ages of ignorance and superstition, was not known among men; as if learning, politeness, and the light of the gospel, were productive only of false refinements, diametrically opposite to humanity and religion. Princes are also supreme in religious matters. This is a case, which seems to require an appeal to the sovereign of heaven and earth, whose vice-gerents princes ought to be; and if men, in a wanton pursuit of an imaginary honour, despise even death itself, what other law can rectify this abuse, than the law of honour, of which the prince is the guardian? Hence the notions which render this practice in some instances warrantable, may, by a change of custom, render it infamous, and the very memory of such false notions will thus in time wear off.

If the fault is not imputable to princes, if they do not consider such practices as necessary evils, how comes it, for this is the common received opinion, that the honestest man, and most gallant officer in an army, is obliged to give up his commission after refusal to fight, though demanded by a person, who is stupidly intrepid, and deserves severe punishment for disturbing the society? But supposing the challenger is of a contrary character, I see not how the case is altered: The violation of human and di-  
vine



vine laws is the same. I must again repeat it, if the fault is not imputable to princes, how comes it that the survivor is generally pardoned in consequence of the prerogative of the crown?

It is true, many worthy men have been in the sad case of the surviving duellist, by offending more from a regard to custom than the badness of their hearts. Perhaps it was a debt to humanity to save them from the gallows, since they must have fought in some measure from their knowledge of the lenity of princes. Is it enough that the law declares it death to kill in a duel, when what we call the fair duellist knows that the survivor is generally, I might say, ALWAYS pardoned? The deceased is always most in fault, or, what is very remarkable, always said to be so: but did subjects of every rank know, that to meet an adversary with weapons, with an intention of fighting, was certain death by the laws; and that the sovereign would interpose only to see the laws executed, there is great reason to believe that no one would proceed to such extremities.

The FRENCH in this case generally fly their country; many are connived at; and by a neglect of the laws which prevails in every nation in favour of the higher ranks, duelling is often deemed a rencounter<sup>a</sup>, and as such is pardoned. There are indeed many of the FRENCH abroad in an inglorious banishment for crimes of this nature, who make no secret of it, but avow the cause, by calling it an affair of honour; a specious name indeed to colour a wicked action!

A prince is concerned to prevent this abuse, not only as the chief magistrate, and the guardian of the laws, but in most countries as the principal military officer, or general of the army. In a camp this extravagant whim received its birth, and has been since propagated for about one hundred and fifty years, as much to the disgrace of all pretenders to true honour, and the common laws of civil society, as to the professors of the christian religion.

<sup>a</sup> I have heard that the FRENCH king takes an oath at his coronation not to pardon duels.



HENRY IV. of FRANCE is said to have been the first that encouraged this practice, by which many a good subject has lost his life, and many a family has been left in distress, who may justly call for vengeance on him who first gave countenance to so dangerous a system. LEWIS XIV. did much in curbing this vice in FRANCE, and it became less fashionable in other parts of EUROPE: but alas! since his time, in FRANCE and several parts of EUROPE, what a number of souls have been sent to their last account full of this complicated crime, of regarding men rather than God? I say regarding men rather than God, since pride is certainly at the bottom, and every such act of pride is plainly a rebellion against divine laws.

As this custom so apparently strikes at the fundamental laws of all society, ought it not to be resented as such by the whole community? 'Tis amazing how impiously stupid some men are in this article in countries professing christianity, who presume to dispose of their lives as if they possessed them by an independent act of their own, and acknowledging no God, are directed intirely by their own caprice.

To intimidate these valiant men, it might perhaps be demonstrated that duels are often fought for want of courage. Have the combatants resolution to act up to the real sense of things? If they have not, in what sense are they brave beyond a dog or a lyon? And where is THE HONOUR of doing a wicked action for fear of wanting bread? An honest man will die rather than do a base action; and what is the notion of a base action but such as is offensive to God, and destructive of society? Thinking men esteem it a folly to say any thing in vindication of this flagitious practice; but how many even of these are preserved more by the kindness of providence, than by the strength and uprightness of their own hearts. The world is in many cases an arrant cheat, and perhaps in no instance more than this. How many thousands of gallant spirits are preserved from the effects of a duel, because they never receive any of those INGENIOUS EPISTLES called CHALLENGES? I remember to have read of a man, who, whilst he was writing a treatise against self-murder, was  
found



found hanging on his bed-post. Such has been, and such probably will be the case of many in regard to duels, if some more effectual method is not used to suppress them. As to men who profess arms, they DARE not maintain that they are christians in this instance: they must be CAREFUL what they say, or rather they must be FALSE to their own sense of the matter whenever they talk of it. Is it only then from the pulpit, or the moral writer, that the custom is to be exploded? Are religion and true politics interesting only to a few under particular circumstances? Such is the state of the polite christian world! Thus men make themselves the slaves of false opinions under the notion of bravery, not considering, that of all cowardice, that is the worst, which enslaves the mind, and compels a man to be false to his own heart.

To be reconciled to death is essential to a philosopher and a christian, that is, in fact to be really no coward; but it is equally essential to these characters to refuse this criminal way of dying. It follows then, that these renounce the appearance of virtue for the reality of it. If the duellist acts contrary to this principle, he renounces the reality for the appearance. From hence we may observe how extravagantly absurd the conduct of those is, who offer incense to this capricious, cruel, lawless, stupid idol, opinion, dressed in the garb of honour, and under the disguise of a gallant spirit.

That this matter requires serious animadversion, is but too apparent: for my own part I have hardly met a man of the world, but leaned, in some degree, to the side of what they call the honourable duellist. The youth who has fought his duel, where no murder is committed, is sometimes more distinguished than the officer who has been in ten campaigns, has fought gallantly as many battles under a just command, and has truly served, nay perhaps has been one of a few who saved, their country. Thus the false courage which carries men to destroy the laws, and bring on anarchy and confusion, finds more respect than that which is employed according to the laws for the defence and preservation of the society, which can exist no longer than the laws. How exceedingly ab-



is it to shew a man a secret or an open contempt for not fighting, when if he kills his adversary, humanity steps in, and we look on him with horror? Pity indeed often takes place, but the reflection that the laws have been contemned, is that which enters least into our heads or hearts. To mention ourselves with a good grace, though we exult in the satisfaction of having acted right, is a difficult task: but this apprehension must not hinder us from pursuing the great purpose and duty of life, nor render us really deficient on one side, whilst we are afraid of being so on the other. Perhaps a false shame in well disposed minds has done more harm than all the vanity or affectation of the weak part of mankind: the triumphs of the understanding ought to be distinguished from the vanity of the heart. Some confessions of our conduct and principles, even when we approve, require a great mixture of self-denial; for there is hardly a man breathing, who is not in some instances a slave to OPINION: besides, arguments deduced from the general reason of things, though they may affect the understanding, do not penetrate the heart so deep as precepts which are brought into action.

The reader is by this time acquainted with my sentiments, if he believes I am sincere. May I then, as I am writing a journal, mention a circumstance of my own life? I once received a challenge. A certain manuscript of no consequence, clandestinely taken, and misrepresented, gave an alarm to a gentleman of the fighting sort; upon which I received a letter from him, conceived in these terms:

“SIR,

“I Understand you are the author of a paper subscribed \* \* \* \*, in which  
 “I are initial letters that I presume mean me. As I ALWAYS MAKE  
 “IT A POINT TO RESENT AFFRONTS, I desire you will meet me at  
 “\* \* \* \*, and bring your sword with you.

“I am, &c.”

To which I answered to this effect:

“SIR,



“ SIR,

“ **I**N reply to your letter, the meaning of which I suppose is a challenge  
“ to fight with you : as I do not understand by what authority you  
“ call me to account, I will NOT tell you whether I am the author of any  
“ such paper as you mention, or not : but this I think my honour is con-  
“ cerned to tell you, that I never intend to do any man an injury ; and if  
“ an offence does come, that honour also obliges me to make atonement,  
“ without putting my friends to the trouble of fighting : and for my part  
“ I ALWAYS MAKE IT A POINT NOT TO RESENT AFFRONTS, beyond  
“ the measure which reason and religion warrant.

“ As to meeting you at \* \* \* \*, I have no inclination to walk in such  
“ weather as this, much less am I disposed to fight for NOTHING ; but a  
“ sword I ALWAYS wear, intending to use it upon every JUST occasion.  
“ I am, &c.”

My antagonist was satisfied, and no doubt was glad to be excused fighting, as all men are except those who are intoxicated with wine, or what is much the same, with anger ; or quite deprived of understanding. What an absurd custom is this ! A man injures me, and therefore I must also give him an opportunity of killing me : on the other hand, what can possess a man with an opinion that he must fight because another is so mad as to require it of him ? Is the challenge a sufficient provocation ? that is, as if because a man demands the loan of a large sum of money, I must lend it at the hazard of my own ruin : if a man by a trespass forfeits his right in his own life ; if I have a right to kill him, if I think it good to remove him as a villain, why should I not kill him in the most convenient way ? The grand point will be who is to judge in this matter ; I think at least some casuist of learning and great probity ought to be consulted in so important a case ; and after all I am afraid the laws would judge this private vindictive justice as murder, and me to be hanged.

To bring the thing home to my own breast, now I am upon the subject, I will suppose I had the same sort of sense in this business as my adversary,



versary, and had carried my sword as he desired, used it and died, and been brought to my last account, for such account I believe there will be; what could I say in my own defence? That I was not afraid of God, but I feared the phantom OPINION. But what if I had killed my adversary, and, to put the matter in the best light, been pardoned by human laws; could all my tears of repentance have cleansed my hand from this HONOURABLE MURDER? Ought I not to run it into the flames, and stand, as a ROMAN<sup>b</sup> did on a worse occasion, to see it burnt off, to expiate the bloody deed, if such expiation could avail?

A friend of mine mentioned an acquaintance of his who treated a challenge less seriously, by calling out in a public coffee-house, "You \* \* \* \*, what did you mean by sending me a challenge, do you think that at my time of life I am such a fool to fight a duel?"

There is no man who acts virtuously but somebody or other suffers when he dyes: however, let us consider him in the different relations of life; suppose him wedded to a woman of honour and sentiments, a kind husband, a dutiful son, a tender parent, and consequently it may be presumed a faithful friend; and, except in this wild enthusiasm, a lover of his country. Behold him prostrate on the earth, killed by the hand of him who perhaps was yesterday the friend of his bosom; and a man whom he loved and wished to serve; sent to his last account with all his sins upon him; plunged into eternity in a rebellious act against the plain decrees of heaven. Whilst we see the blood issuing from his wound, behold the gentle matron, the partner of all his happiness or misery, with floods of tears streaming from her eyes, calling for that aid which no mortal arm can give. The tender infant by her side knows not that one fatal thrust, robs him of all the joys, the comforts and support, with which providence had blessed him in a parent, now no more. The aged father losing his son, in whom all his worldly joys were centered, and for whom only he wished to live, droops his hoary head and dies with sorrow. On the other hand what horror must invade

<sup>b</sup> M. SCÆVOLA.



the soul of the surviving duellist ! The reproaches of his heart, and his fearful apprehensions of the laws, must fill him with dismay. If it was only to die, death is but a debt we owe to nature, and the end of life is to pay that debt in a graceful manner : but under these circumstances it is shocking. Not the devouring flames ; nor storms that plunge the affrighted mariner into his watery grave, have half the terrors of this dreadful scene.

The most capital misfortune attending the preludes to these catastrophes, is the frequent carelessness, or too great confidence in a supposed accommodation, on the parts of by-standers, or of the friends of the parties contending ; to which we may add, the supposed shame of the parties in asking advice in such cases. I have been more than once assured by a very gallant sea officer, who has given proof of his courage upon the most important occasions, that he has been instrumental in making up near a dozen quarrels, which to all appearance must otherwise have proceeded to the extremity of a duel.

If a beatitude is annexed to feeding the hungry and cloathing the naked, how amiable in the sight of God must that man be who saves the souls as well as bodies of his fellow-creatures !

Not to think of death as the entrance into ANOTHER STATE, is to neglect the most essential duty of THIS ; and to fear death is to renounce our patrimony ; to turn a blessing into a curse ; to prefer pain to pleasure ; and to imbitter the joys which the kindness of providence has so liberally presented to us. We ought to be ready to meet death, and in some cases even to wish for it. We ought to long for a glorious occasion to finish the campaign of life ; but it should be a glorious, that is a just occasion. What man in his right mind would not die a martyr to the principles on which his eternity depended ; and suffer himself to be stoned to death under the harsh name of a coward, rather than die, or even live by the sword, as a fool ? a fool, if there is a God, and a state of rewards for good, and punishments for evil actions ; who shipwrecks his hopes, and renounces all the profit of a long and dangerous voyage for NOTHING ; for the breath of idle tatlers, for indigested opinions, and the false judgment of those who reject these considerations in their plan of life. We  
all



all naturally desire to be beloved in life, and applauded by men; however uncertain and precarious the advantages of such love and applause: but how great soever they are, they MUST terminate with THAT life, of which we are thus so stupidly lavish; though at the same time we know, that if we observe a consistent conduct in this world, we must deny the immortality of the soul, and refuse our acknowledgment that GOD is wise, just, and merciful; or expect that immortality in a state of happiness, in comparison of which the highest human felicity is but the "baseless fabric of a vision."

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### C H A P. XLI.

*Further reflexions on duelling, with the cases of a demand to draw, the lie given, or a blow received; with the conduct of a reasonable man of honour in an appeal to national justice.*

MANY admonitions have been written on the subject of duelling, and some of them, no doubt, have made impressions on men, however disposed, by their circumstances and professions, to be numbered amongst the lawless combatants. We have lately seen men professing arms<sup>a</sup>, who have declined the challenge; but whilst so many adopt false principles, it is not possible to eradicate this pernicious custom.

Various are the incidents which bear a great affinity with the more cool and deliberate invitation to the duel. A case once happened by the well-meant officiousness of a gentleman; he endeavoured to soften the wrath of a person, who directed it at no higher an object than a porter. This gentleman afterwards run his inflamed adversary through the body, in consequence of the OFFENCE of demanding him to DRAW. How can we reconcile a conduct which brought on so fatal a catastrophe? Would it not have been more consistent for this gentleman to retire? Is it a shame to run away from a madman? The risk of being killed by direct assassination, had he retired, was not perhaps as one to ten equal to the hazard of the combat; so that it seems as if he chose the greater danger

<sup>a</sup> If some public relations are genuine.



to avoid the less: but how much more glorious had it been to die in such a case, whilst he endeavoured to avoid spilling the blood of his fellow-creature, under such circumstances of disgrace to human nature, than to live the wretched vanquisher of so miserable a being? However romantic this thought may appear, I confess I see as great a duty to avoid killing a man, though at the hazard of one's own life, as to endeavour to defend a fellow-creature, under certain circumstances, at the same hazard: and there is no man of true bravery, but, upon some occasions, will run the risk of his own life to save that of another person. As to the case of direct assassination, the first principle of life teaches us what to do.

In relation to the accidents which happen for want of fixed principles, I have seen several cases. A particular acquaintance of mine abroad, was taken up by the watch, when he was so much disordered in liquor, that he was not capable of distinguishing; his friend passing by, and hearing of the event, gave bail for him. As they walked together, he demanded satisfaction of his benefactor for an offence committed by another person: his friend, instead of flying from this temporary madman, fought with him, and they both lost their lives.

I have often wondered that well-regulated states should suffer the profession of a fencing-master<sup>b</sup>: to one that has been saved by the knowledge of this science, twenty have been lost. We often find bad men excel in this art, and the best are not excused on account of their ignorance of it. What have we to do with a science, of which the laws forbid the use? Men are not taught to counterfeit a hand-writing, nor to coin false money. National quarrels are not determined by the sword of the duellist; nor can the best fencer parry a musket-ball, or a bayonet. But a knowledge of the use of the fusée, or spontoon, may be of great advantage in the field of battle. A warlike nation should learn how to kill their enemies when there is a necessity for it, and not their countrymen when there is none. As to fencing, it has been frequently a temptation to desperate actions;

<sup>b</sup> Except that the challenged may chuse his weapons; I once heard of a man who chose a pitchfork, which, though improper for a gentleman, had good effect, for it prevented the duel.



and men often engage with an entire knowledge of their great superiority, as well as a presumption of it. Of the last sort I knew a very particular instance.

A very near relation of mine was once attacked in the open streets in full day by one of these fighting gentlemen, who, it seems, took him for another person. He retired, and told him, "Sir, for heaven's sake forbear; I never saw you before, nor know I who you are." This however did not restrain the aggressor. His eyes were as blind as his heart: he pushed forward, and, as the price of his rashness, he received a mortal wound, and only lived to beg pardon for his mistake.

Another remarkable event happened also to the same person: he was challenged by a man whom he had never seen, nor heard of. As a man of the sword however he consented; and had the fortune to make his antagonist beg his life: this person then confessed, that he had no motive to fighting but his distressed condition, and entreated his antagonist to assist him. The wounds he had received, now made him the greater object of compassion; so that this extravagant enterprize ended in the aggressor's being relieved by the charity of the man whom he had provoked to this desperate trial of skill.

Instances of this sort are very numerous, arising, for the most part, from the same cause, viz. a gross ignorance of what a man ought to do under certain circumstances. For what can HONOUR mean, if it is not A RULE OF CONDUCT? However complicated cases of this nature are, the ordinary incentives to such catastrophes are a demand to DRAW, that is, to fight; the lie given; or a blow. As to the first, the party offending by this demand is generally in anger, and as incapable of reason as the drunken man. If by this demand he means to kill you on the spot, if you do not kill him; what is it less than assassination? and if no relief can be obtained, all means either of art or force are warrantable for the preservation of life. But if it is only a simple proposition to fight with him, as is generally understood, it ought to be considered as a proposal, to leap with him from the top of a house, and he should be regarded as a mad-man:



man : however, as he bears the figure of a man, his person ought to be sacred, and all possible means used to protect him from himself.

As to giving the lie, the antient ROMANS, whose valour we never call in question, considered it only as a contradiction. Custom, pride, or a higher sense of moral virtue in some, and an affectation of it in others, have rendered this word very harsh and violent to us : but human laws seldom take any cognizance of it, unless with respect to men of high rank, or eminent authority. If the party HAS really uttered an injurious falsity, the punishment will, in a great measure, attend it ; and if he has NOT, the lie is retorted, and the dishonour properly fixed : but in matters of fact, or assertion, witnesses only can determine, and resentments of this sort ought, in all reason, to be referred to a court of honour ; that is, to the friends of the parties, who may easily accommodate such a quarrel, when men really mean to act LIKE MEN.

But the severest trial of a man is by a blow. This is the treatment of a slave, or a malefactor, and he who is above the rank of the lowest of mankind, or has any consciousness of his own dignity, ought, in justice to himself, and to the community, to require satisfaction ; because this is an offence against the society, of which the laws take cognizance. Out of respect then to the society, and in obedience to the laws, he ought to appeal to them. Suppose then a man is struck without a just provocation, let him appeal to the magistrate, to whom he is supposed to have entered into a solemn engagement to refer his cause, in consequence of the common protection he derives from the laws.

But as such appeals are not often made by men, who profess to have a very high sense of honour, it ought to be extremely clear that they mean to support the respect due to the laws, abstracted from all private considerations ; and therefore if the satisfaction, which may be judged due for the injury done, is pecuniary ; they must transfer it in trust for the use of the poor ; not as a gift, but as a forfeiture to the poor by the offender. A man who would not do a base action for gain, ought not to benefit by such a forfeiture, not even in the supposed merit of a charity. A villain



may artfully provoke an honest man to an offence against the laws, with a view to private benefit: but as no man of honour will suffer disgrace for the sake of gain; he ought also to avoid the appearance of such advantage, in any case it is his duty to rest in a determined resolution to be really a man of honour, and not a slave to opinion, against the light of his own mind; against the laws of his country; and against the awful majesty of heaven.

The highest indignity, in the ordinary estimation of crimes of this sort, is for a man, who professes arms, to receive a blow. In a free country the military law being subservient to civil institutions, we must conclude that a court-martial would proceed upon much the same principles as any other court of judicature.

Let us suppose then even a gentleman of the army confronting the transgressor in the presence of the judge, and that he means to act like a CHRISTIAN, and a good member of the community, as well as a soldier: I presume his pleading would stand thus:

“ As I believe the religion of CHRIST, I now appear before your lordships for my hope in that religion; I appear to vindicate the decrees of heaven, and to rescue them from contempt: I plead, my lord, in defence of the highest privilege of mankind, desiring to prove, by my own submission, that the wise author of nature has not ordained any partial law; which is obligatory only to people under particular circumstances.

“ I know that custom has not only made it honourable to decide such complaints as mine by the sword of private vindictive justice, but also dishonourable to appeal to any other. That custom, unsupported by reason, is the law of fools, is acknowledged by all men of common sense; yet as it has been the custom for the highest ranks of mankind, to neglect the national justice, and revenge themselves with their own arm; in the eyes of many I must appear, if not as a coward, at least as inferior to them in courage, and a due sense of honour. Whilst the world is enslaved to OPINION, men will appear with dignity, or disgrace, as they follow or abandon the standard of this tyrant.

“ But



“ But I apprehend, my lord, that the important affair now under con-  
“ sideration, is not how I am to pay a blind homage to custom, or opi-  
“ nion; but how to express the submission of a reasonable being to reason-  
“ able laws, with a due regard to both worlds. Human institutions are  
“ ever presumed to be directed by the higher motives of divine laws; to  
“ evade the one, is to despise the other. As I know that my freedom,  
“ my religion, and all that is dear to me, are secured by the laws, and  
“ that the protection derived from them, implies a solemn obligation on  
“ my part; can I, with the name of honour, pretend to annul that obli-  
“ gation? In this light things appear to me: but I have learnt also, by long  
“ experience, the fallacy of human wisdom; how incapable we often are  
“ to judge for ourselves; and how differently the same action appears to  
“ the same person at different times: upon this account also I appeal to  
“ the judgment of this honourable court. I refer my cause to the laws of  
“ GOD and my country, in hopes that the day will come, when soldiers  
“ will have the courage to act like men, and like CHRISTIANS; and to  
“ dare to do any thing which ought to be done: till that day comes, he  
“ who has the courage to act up to the dictates of his conscience, and  
“ the clear precepts of his religion, must deplore an evil which he cannot  
“ rectify, and stand up against the imputation even of cowardice, rather  
“ than renounce that conscience and religion.

“ There is another reason, my lord, why, contrary to all custom with  
“ men of my profession, I appear before this honourable assembly. The  
“ common dictates of humanity call on me to demand justice in this  
“ manner; not the dictates of a mean self-love; nor a dastardly fear of  
“ death; but the cause of honour and of liberty, the cause of my fellow-  
“ citizens and countrymen: as it is my duty to fight for them WHEN I AM  
“ CALLED, I now mean, my lord, to preserve their lives, and, by endeavour-  
“ ing to stop the current of a flagitious practice, to screen them from in-  
“ famy or disgrace in the like circumstances.

“ If we enjoy life, and the name of honour, only by the romantic cle-  
“ mency of him who dares to draw his sword in defiance of the laws,  
“ what is this, in effect, but slavery? He that challenges to an illegal com-  
“ bat,



“ bat, and has it in his power to blast my reputation, if I refuse; is he  
“ not a more dangerous member of the community, than he who chal-  
“ lenges me to deliver my purse, and will neither touch my life nor ho-  
“ nour, if I consent: and if it is inglorious to solicit for justice against  
“ those who violate the rules of civil society; the consequence must be, that  
“ it is glorious to persecute and destroy the virtuous, who are the support  
“ of that society.

“ In all the dreadful scenes of blood, which my duty, as a soldier, has  
“ often engaged me; I ever considered it as my pride and honour to be  
“ obedient to the command of my superiors, though it were to rush on cer-  
“ tain death: that is the law of a soldier in the field of battle: the same rule  
“ of conduct now brings me before this honourable court. As in those  
“ scenes of slaughter, I never thought it justifiable to kill an enemy out of  
“ mere revenge, or to take a life, which, consistently with my duty, I  
“ could spare; what change of principles should now induce me to run  
“ the hazard of robbing my fellow-subject of his life, from the impulse  
“ of a lawless revenge? A revenge which, if followed, mankind would  
“ be reduced to a state of war, the links of humanity would be broken,  
“ and the foundation of all society rooted up.

“ And now, my lord, in what degree the offender is punishable, rests  
“ on the judgment of this honourable assembly: I do not mean to bias  
“ the court, or load the aggressor with guilt, arising from motives per-  
“ haps foreign to his thoughts: on the contrary, I hope he will expe-  
“ rience such a mitigation of his punishment, as will demonstrate to him-  
“ self, and to all the world, either that honour, equity, and all the sacred  
“ regards by which society is supported, are, in the course of national  
“ justice entirely neglected; or, that it is absurd, unjust, and inhuman,  
“ to revenge a blow, the wild effect of anger, by no less a chastisement  
“ than the death of the offender.”



## C H A P. XLII.

*A short account of ZELL, the adjacent country, and the passage of the ELBE. Observations on the hospitality of the BRITISH factory in HAMBURG, with some reflections on the sacrament. Of the body corporate of that factory. Of the houses, inhabitants, government, military force, fortification, territories, and trade of HAMBURG. A short account of ALTONA.*

THE 13th of September I left HANOVER, and proceeded to ENZEN, a small mean village; the road to this place exhibits little more than heath, with very few houses and inhabitants, for two GERMAN miles and a half. From thence to ZELL is two GERMAN miles and a half; the chief production of the country near the road, is turf, which serves as fuel for the adjacent inhabitants. About three feet from the surface of the earth, I observed in several places the remains of antient buildings, which the common people are idle enough to think have remained there ever since the deluge.

ZELL is a very considerable place, and guarded by a fortification: it has been formerly the residence of the dukes of that name, but by marriage it is now devolved to the house of HANOVER. The palace is fortified by a wall and a mote, and, being on an eminence, commands an extensive prospect. Here are four LUTHERAN churches, one FRENCH, and one DUTCH reformed church, and one for the ROMAN catholics. The buildings for the most part are very mean, being chiefly of wood. The town has a small trade with BREMEN, by means of the river ALLER; and now afforded quarters to a regiment of 700 men. It has been also long distinguished for a stud of exceeding fine horses, of which I saw many: here are sometimes to the number of one hundred and fifty; the pedigree of each horse is marked on the post of the stall. Besides many beautiful horses for the saddle, there is a very fine set of cream-coloured horses for a coach of state.

From



From ZELL I travelled to WEISSENDORFF, which is four excessive long GERMAN miles; the greatest part of the way appears like a desert, having only three or four mean villages, and very little corn land, but some flocks of sheep. This electorate supplies the greatest part of GERMANY with mutton, as BRANDENBURG and WESTPHALIA produces hogs, and HUNGARY beef; but the trade in corn is very small, as each of those countries produces sufficient for its own consumption.

On the 15th I went to ZÆHRENDORF, four GERMAN miles, the country still abounding in heaths and woods. The villagers in some places complained of the unwholesome air. Whether this arises from the earth not being cultivated, the number of inhabitants being small, or from the badness of the soil I cannot determine. On the 16th I travelled on to HAMBURG, four GERMAN miles: the country towards the banks of the ELBE has a more agreeable aspect. Travellers sometimes go by SPICKERWICK, where the ELBE being much narrower, the passage is short and the charge easy; from thence on the north east banks of the ELBE there are many delightful gardens in the territories of HAMBURG; whereas at HARBURG it is five or six ENGLISH miles cross the ELBE to HAMBURG. The banks of this river below the city, are in some places very lofty, and exhibit a delightful view of the several small islands in the middle of it. It is very unlucky for travellers who are well inclined to entertain a good opinion of the electorate of HANOVER, that the road from the metropolis cross the country to the ELBE in the rout to HAMBURG, has so barren and desolate an appearance. The districts of ZELL and LUNENBURG are by no means scenes of pleasure or profit; but at some distance from the road in proper HANOVER, I am assured are lands fertile and well peopled, which indeed ought to be inferred from the amount of the revenues of this electorate, as already mentioned; though these arise chiefly from the mines.

The 17th. Being now arrived in a great trading city, amongst a considerable BRITISH factory, with some of the members of which I had particular connections from commercial interest, I considered myself as at home;



home ; and indeed the politeness, hospitality, and agreeable conversation of the factory in general made it such to me.

It is a common vice of mankind to suffer the most trivial incidents of life to divert them from religious duties, and to furnish themselves with an excuse for that neglect. The day after my arrival being the sabbath, if the motive of devotion had failed, curiosity would, I think, have carried me to divine service : of all curses idleness seems to be one of the worst, and of all kinds of idleness, that of neglecting the sabbath seems to be the most unworthy. "Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath day," is as clear an injunction as "Thou shalt not murder ;" as clear and forcible as if the Almighty was to look down from the battlements of heaven, and declare in thunder "This is my will." But if the foundations of the earth were shaken, would men awake to their duty? The chaplain, Mr. MURRAY, gave us an excellent discourse on this text, "Take this in remembrance of me ;" he remarked "That men, who are really sincere, and endeavour to think and act well, are not disqualified for receiving the sacrament from what they imagine or fear, however seemingly contrary to the spirit of religion." A weak judgment and a roving fancy are most certainly apt to disturb the best men ; but the real good or evil in consequence of the sacrament, must be determined by the effect it has on our lives ; by engaging us to forsake our sins, as we thereby covenant and agree to do : this law is of eternal obligation, whether we commemorate his death or not ; but if we will not commemorate, we break one essential part of that law, by neglecting his absolute command, "Take this in remembrance of me ;" an argument which is intelligible to a child, and as conclusive as volumes of theology. If the taking that sacrament is enjoined as the means of remembering him ; as a token of remembrance, and as an act of gratitude to him as a friend and benefactor ; to neglect this command seems to imply, that we do not chuse to remember him, nor to take any pains to express our gratitude to him. Were we to judge from the conduct of some CHRISTIANS, one would be tempted to think such an injunction was really never made, or that they really were not CHRISTIANS.



It is very familiar to common observation, that men who demonstrate a scrupulous forbearance of offences which are clearly forbidden, do not regard this duty, though it is as clearly commanded; as if one implied guilt, but not the other. If they were just to themselves, they would not only reflect on the absurdity of this conduct, but also that they neglect one of the most essential means of procuring the pardon of their sins.

This is a long introduction to a short story. The congregation of the BRITISH factory at HAMBURG, though neither methodists nor fanatics; being about fifty persons of both sexes, all, except one, received the sacrament on this occasion. A sight which I never saw before, nor ever expect to see again, unless I should happen to go to HAMBURG. The chapel belonging to the factory is very neatly finished with oak, and of a proper and convenient size. Mr. MURRAY is deservedly beloved for his learning and agreeable conversation, for his persuasive discourses, and the natural and just manner in which he delivers them.

The BRITISH factory which removed from FLANDERS to HAMBURG, are possessed of privileges since about 1610, confirmed by a convention with the regency, as distinguished as any body of foreigners enjoy in any part of the commercial world. The HAMBURGERS found it their interest to indulge them, inasmuch that, till the revolution, they had an exclusive privilege of importing cloth; but this liberty is now free to any of the inhabitants of the city. This factory is incorporated into a company, consisting of thirteen members, a governor <sup>a</sup>, and deputy governor <sup>b</sup>. All disputes among themselves are referred to the final decision of a majority of voices. They also judge with regard to their demands on the burghers; but in this case a deputation of two senators is required to act in concert with them. Their judgments are so just and summary that the burghers generally make application to them, when they have demands upon any of the BRITISH factors, preferring their decisions to any other court in the jurif-

<sup>a</sup> Mr. JOHN GORE.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. JOHN THORNTON, who resides on the spot.



dition of the city. The trade of this company is not so considerable as it was at the latter end of the last century.

Besides the pleasure which they enjoy in domestic diversions and mutual acts of hospitality, the king of DENMARK has granted them a privilege of hunting in his jurisdiction, to the extent of about ten ENGLISH miles, and some of the factors often take this amusement.

HAMBURG is well known to be a hanse town of the most importance of any in EUROPE. It is said to have derived its name from the adjacent forest of HAM, so early as the beginning of the eighth century: its reputation for laws, and situation for trade, has long since furnished it with opulent inhabitants. It stands in the dukedom of HOLSTEIN, on the north side of the ELBE, where this river forms many islands; some part of the town is so low, that north west winds and high tides extremely incommode the inhabitants, by the overflowing of the water. The houses are built very strong and lofty, and many of them are extremely neat. Most of the streets are so narrow as hardly to suffer wheel carriages to pass each other, but their coachmen are remarkably dexterous. Vehicles of this sort, which were hardly known amongst them seventy years ago, are now very common. There are also many streets which are spacious, but these lying higher, and more detached from the water, are not so much frequented by merchants of any consideration.

Here are generally ministers from most of the princes in EUROPE, but I believe more for the affairs and correspondence relating to GERMANY and the north, than for what regards the city. I had the pleasure of being very politely received, particularly by Mr. COPE, the ENGLISH resident, who is much beloved.

The number of inhabitants in this city, appears to be larger than it really is; as much the greatest part of them are abroad and in motion. Mechanics are not numerous here; and of manufactures, sugar-baking and calicoe-printing are the great articles; gold and silver lace, silks and stockings are also made, but in no considerable quantities. The families which



pay foot and lot are about 14,000, and the soldiery, including their wives and children, are reckoned 10,000. There is about the same number of foreigners; so that, reckoning seven persons to a family, the whole makes 118,000. The suburbs and villages adjacent, may encrease it to half as many more.

The better sort of people here are extremely affable, most of them having travelled; but the women are bred up with great reserve. They generally go veiled with black silk; but not so as to hide their faces, when they have any reason to entertain a favourable opinion of their own beauty. Though here are many instances of gay life, especially at particular seasons, yet there is no appearance of state or grandeur amongst them; their chief pursuit is trade. Those who have left off business are esteemed in the same rank with merchants. As there are no marks of regal authority to create a due subordination, the easy circumstances of the greatest part of the inhabitants, have introduced a species of insolence and imposition on strangers, peculiar to a republican state: the common people tread close upon the heels of those of higher rank. I observed also they have introduced the custom of giving money to servants; and, as in some other countries, convert the domestic obligations of society into acts of venality.

The government of this city is composed of four burgomasters; the emoluments annexed to their offices generally yield 1000 l. a year each, particularly the two elder of them, who have the disposal of several places. The next in rank are senators, of whom there are twenty-four; their dress resembles the antient habit of the SPANIARDS: fourteen of these must be chosen from among the merchants, and ten bred to the study of the law. The senators are sometimes very illiterate persons, but when chosen they are obliged to forsake their shops, and keep a coach. Their salary is two hundred pounds per annum, but they are chosen for life, and their perquisites are considerable: suits at law are determined by the senate; criminal affairs by the senate and burghers. There are also four findics, or lawyers, who act as secretaries of the state, and on whom the



the greatest weight of the executive part of the government lies; next to these are four real secretaries. The city is divided into five parishes, in which are five capital churches; the most modern, dedicated to St. MICHAEL, was reduced to ashes by lightening in 1749. There is also the DOME, which is a cathedral church governed by a dean and secular canons, remarkable for its antiquity, being built in the time of CHARLEMAGNE; it is now partly under the protection of his majesty king GEORGE, in the quality of duke of BREMEN and VERDEN: each of these parishes has three officers in the nature of the tribunes of the people among the antient ROMANS; and nothing of moment is resolved on by the senate without their concurrence. When taxes are laid on the people, fifty burghers of each parish must be present to constitute a proper assembly for this purpose, and the same tax is never prolonged above a year. Upon these occasions the gates of the city are shut, and nobody permitted to go in or out till the assembly is broke up. Though upon the principle of that liberty which I have mentioned, the inhabitants are sometimes with difficulty kept within bounds; yet, in the ordinary course of things, good order and oeconomy are preserved.

The religion established here is the LUTHERAN; nor is there a toleration as in AMSTERDAM, or LONDON. The ROMAN catholics are objects of great jealousy; but the JEWS are indulged, and support themselves by commerce and brokerage: indeed the greatest part of the POLISH JEWS appear to be in a wretched condition; but the PORTUGUEZE are not in such despicable circumstances.

The establishment of regular forces in this city is 2500 men; but the magistracy seldom support so many: they are however very cautious in shutting their gates early, and will, upon no occasion, open a wicket, though the town might raise a considerable tax by means of it. This part of oeconomy puts a great restraint on the citizens, and habituates them the more to moderation in pursuit of pleasures and amusement.

The fortifications of this town, on the land-side, are considered as very strong; but the greatest security of it is the jealousy of the several princes,



ces, who have, from time to time, formed pretensions, and cast an ambitious eye towards it. The walk round the ramparts is about four ENGLISH miles, and in most parts very pleasant. On the east side is a large piece of water formed by a small river called the ALSTER, within the walls, on which the town's people amuse themselves in the summer, by rowing about it, attended by bands of musicians.

The citizens have also several gardens on the banks of the ELBE and ALSTER, some of which are agreeable: but they are mostly in the DUTCH taste, very small, and kept in such exquisite order, as rather to exhibit a poppet-shew, than a rural scene; much less is there any grandeur in them.

The territories of this city are but small: on the north-west side there is a considerable fort on an eminence, which serves as an out-work to the town, and as a boundary of its dominion; ALTONA, on the west, is within half a mile. To the north they have only about one mile; but to the east, along the banks of the ELBE, about sixteen, which, in the broadest place, is not above four miles<sup>h</sup>.

Several of the citizens, who have acquired great fortunes by commerce, have purchased large estates in the neighbouring territories, under the jurisdiction of the several princes; but this is apt to create jealousies among those whose property is in trade only, or within the territory of HAMBURG. Monsieur PIERRE HISS, a FRENCH merchant, to whom I am obliged for the polite reception he gave me, is said to be worth above 100,000 l. acquired from a very small beginning; and there are others, whose opulence is not inferior.

This place must be considered with respect to GERMANY, what AMSTERDAM is to EUROPE, a magazine of the different produce, and merchandize of the trading world. Many of the houses are built on the very edge of the canals, so that ships may unload into their warehouses. The number of vessels, of any considerable burthen, belonging to the town, is computed at four hundred, of which thirty of the princi-

<sup>h</sup> In this passage I mean ENGLISH miles.



pal are employed in the trade to and from LONDON. They have many in the FRENCH trade, particularly about forty, which bring wine, and other commodities, from BOURDEAUX; a great number in the GREENLAND trade, besides many which navigate the BALTIC, and some also to PORTUGAL, SPAIN, the MEDITERRANEAN, &c.

They keep their accounts in marks and schillings, 16 schillings to a mark. The agio varies, but the bank-money is generally about 15 or 16 per cent. better than current.

Formerly the DANISH money was their chief currency, but now they have a coin of their own; one HAMBURG schilling is equal to two DANISH, or a penny ENGLISH. There are 4 schilling pieces, or  $\frac{1}{4}$  mark, and 8 schillings or  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark. A ducat, which passes for 2 and  $\frac{3}{4}$  dollars in BRANDENBURG and SAXONY, is worth here  $2\frac{1}{2}$  dollars of HAMBURG. Here is a difference of bank and current money, as in AMSTERDAM; a ducat which passes for 7 marks current, is worth but 6 bank money;  $3\frac{1}{2}$  schillings are equal to 2 gude groschen; and all sorts of money are taken here, valued according to foreign exchange.

The mouth of the ELBE, at the north-sea, is about thirteen GERMAN miles distance; the navigation is difficult, yet, except some of the largest vessels, they can unload at the town, the tide coming up about four GERMAN miles above HAMBURG. Its ebb leaves most of the canals of the city dry; but there is a good bed of mud for the ships.

I have already observed, that the manufactures of this place, except that of baking sugar, and printing calicoes, are very inconsiderable, though the art of dying is well known here. They export quantities of SILESIA linnens from hence under the name of HAMBURG. A great part of this branch of commission-business is indeed fallen into the hands of the merchants of ALTONA, the HAMBURGERS having injudiciously charged a small duty on them, which they have since taken off, and made it a free port for the transit of all goods: but they cannot recover this business in the same manner as before. There are other branches, of which the HAMBURGERS have been obliged to yield a part to other nations.



tions. The trade of LUBEC, which was sunk very low, has mended of late years. STETIN, which was hardly known as a trading town, now begins to make some figure in commerce; and we find the king of PRUSSIA endeavouring to establish EMBDEN as a place of trade. COPENHAGEN, of late years, is improved; and a vast trade is established in St. PETERSBURG, which did not exist till this century; but, above all, FRANCE, since the queen's war, has made large strides in the advancement of her commercial interest. These concurring reasons must necessarily diminish the trade of HAMBURG.

As mankind increase in numbers, at least in EUROPE, together with arts, luxurious indulgences, and the refinements of life; it is natural to presume that commerce, in general, encreases also; though it is subject to change hands. But nothing, I think, is more demonstrable than this, that the state which has most naval power, supposing the people have a genius for commerce, and are situated advantageously for it, must have the greatest portion. Will it be surprizing if, in a few ages, war should become entirely, as it already is in a great measure, subservient to the ends of trade? Upon this principle it is rather an argument of the virtue and equity of mankind, that so inconsiderable a state as HAMBURG should have yet so great a trade, than that it is in some degree diminished.

As nations grow enlightened, they will forsake their indolence, and go to market, where the commodity is cheapest; passing by those who are enriched by their former industry and sagacity, in collecting the different productions of the earth; consequently these lesser states, whose consumption within themselves is small, will decline in commercial power.

It has been generally imagined, that luxury is a great cause of the increase of commerce: that it has enlarged the scene, and occasioned an increase of several of the productions of the earth, is beyond dispute. Hence the use of tobacco, sugar, tea, spices, and other commodities, which are of very little real benefit to mankind, and yet are become great articles  
of



of commerce all over the world. But these have been attended also with improvements of essential service, particularly that of manufactures, which being now spread over the whole earth; the skins of beasts, which were formerly the great article of cloathing, are not worn, except in very cold countries, or as a rich and costly dress. These have been exchanged for the manufactures of wool, and other materials, much beyond what the animals furnished in the simple manner of life of our forefathers: some of these indeed had hardly any cloaths at all. But to come down to the present time, FRANCE has now near thirty times the quantity of wollen cloth, to what she manufactured in the beginning of this century<sup>i</sup>. And ENGLAND already so far advanced, has made vast improvements. In the last century calculators valued our wool at two millions, now they reckon near four millions<sup>k</sup>. The same wool manufactured is now computed worth twelve millions; whereas it then amounted to eight millions only.

But as things necessary, and in their nature good, are become common, and supplied in a great profusion; that which was magnificence, is no longer so: numerous improvements however being added, it takes that name again. When these improvements are carried to an excess beyond what our fortunes, and duties of life will bear, it becomes luxury; and luxury is in its nature ruinous. We see even the lower classes of mankind have acquired a taste of many things, not only beyond the simplicity of life which nature dictates, but also beyond what their circumstances will bear. These new passions craving their object; an equal pace must be kept by industry, and the productions of the earth. All excesses require great labour to support them. The people of a country, who live very high, to use a vulgar expression, are apt to light their candle at both ends; that is to say, they are apt to consume too much, and work too little. Hence they are also more subject to misfortunes, because that will appear as a misfortune under such circumstances, which otherwise would not be regarded. There is a medium; if we pass beyond it, we prepare the

<sup>i</sup> See page 55. but this remark alludes to LANGUEDOC only.

<sup>k</sup> Near 70,000 packs at 6 l.



way for ruin. Luxury and corruption have ever been the destruction of states; and nothing can be more plain than this, that there would be little or no corruption, if there was no luxury.

To return to the HAMBURGERS: what has clipt their wings, though not in so great a degree as generally imagined, is the neighbourhood of ALTONA, which signifies, much too near, as inded it is for their interest; having the advantage of situation the same as HAMBURG; but it has no fortification, nor is the DANISH sovereignty so great a security of its commerce, as the independency of a HANSE TOWN is to HAMBURG. ALTONA has been long considered by the HAMBURGERS as an object of great jealousy; but there is not, I apprehend, so much cause to fear, as is suggested by many.

ALTONA is a large place, but does not partake in the least of the pride of HAMBURG, with regard to its buildings; nor can it afford to pay any thing of consequence towards the revenues of DENMARK. It is an asylum for those who fly from the adjacent countries for debt, or worse crimes: the HAMBURGERS, whose fortunes reduce them to this extremity, take refuge there also. Except two or three houses of business, there is very little appearance of riches or plenty in ALTONA. In opposition to HAMBURG it encourages all religions, so that there is a medley of the poorer classes of mankind, particularly of POLISH JEWS. In the war with SWEDEN in 1713, the town was burnt to the ground, and now appears as new. The HAMBURGERS not daring to risk their own security, by opening their gates in the night, when a SWEDISH army was so near, and when a sickness prevailed amongst the inhabitants of ALTONA; many of the latter perished as monuments of SWEDISH cruelty.

The continual losses suffered by the ALGERINE rovers, who thought it their interest to decline all accommodation, have been a great obstruction to the trade of HAMBURG; and the more as they can hardly, with any assurance, ask the assistance of any sovereign prince, and particularly a maritime power, who is a competitor in point of commerce. During the last war they had several ships on the western ocean, and the MEDITERRANEAN;



RANEAN; but hostilities at sea were no sooner ended, than they were obliged to alter their measures<sup>a</sup>.

The 29th of September I took my leave of Mr. J. BOSANQUET, Mr. HANBURY, Mr. THORNTON the deputy governor of the BRITISH company, and the other gentlemen, to whom I am much indebted for their great civility.

C H A P. XLIII.

*The author departs from HAMBURG. A short account of the trade, inhabitants, and dome church of BREMEN. He continues his journey through WESTPHALIA.*

THE 30th of September I departed from HAMBURG. The ordinary rout to AMSTERDAM is directly to OSNABRUCK; but my curiosity carried me to to BREMEN, not without some intention of going to EMDEN, if the weather had proved favourable. My rout then was to BLANKENESS, two short GERMAN miles from HAMBURG. The road being on the lofty banks of the ELBE, gives a most delightful and extensive view, as well of part of the HANOVERIAN dominions on the west, as of the DANISH territories in HOLSTEIN on the east of that river. There is no regular stage for post horses to BLANKENESS; the ferry also is very small for a wheel carriage, and if a proper season is not taken with regard to wind and tide, it may be dangerous. The rusticity of the DANISH boors is apt to create vexation: it is their custom to spend some time on the shore at a certain game, to determine whose fortune it shall be to attend the passenger. The breadth of the river in this place is about an ENGLISH mile, and near the same distance, up a creek to CRANTZ, a mean village in the HANOVERIAN dominions, where there is no regular post; yet the peasants

<sup>a</sup> The ALGERINES finding the SPANIARDS meant to make war with them in good earnest, entered lately into a treaty with the HAMBURGERS, not of friendship only, but of commerce also. This the SPANIARDS highly resented, and put the HAMBURGERS under necessity of annulling that treaty, or of being excluded from their trade with SPAIN. Being reduced to this alternative they have chosen the former.



are obliged to find horses for passengers at stated rates. CRANTZ, though so mean a place, is extended above two ENGLISH miles, built on the top of a high bank, intended to resist the overflowing of the ELBE, which sometimes happens. A small branch of this river runs to BUXTEHUDE, the next stage, which is about a GERMAN mile and a half: the country abounds in meadow and corn lands.

October the 1st, I pursued my journey to CLOSTER-SEVEN, four long GERMAN miles, the road but indifferent; the prospect is mostly of woods and heath; the country is but thinly inhabited, and has not much corn land or cattle. From thence to OTTERSBERG is three GERMAN miles: here I found two companies of HANOVERIAN soldiers quartered. The soil hereabouts is infertile, being chiefly morasses. From thence to BREMEN is three GERMAN miles, through a sandy country. The land towards BREMEN is more improved, but without any great face of fertility. We passed two turnpikes, and within an ENGLISH mile of BREMEN I observed three stones which are erected on the side of the road, with the arms of the BRITISH crown, denoting the confines of the HANOVERIAN dominion.

BREMEN is situated on a plain on both sides of the river WESER, over which it has a bridge. The dutchy in which it stands formerly belonged to the SWEDES, but being conquered by the DANES, was by them sold to the elector of HANOVER in 1716; yet there is only a small quarter of the town, in which stands the dome church, subject to that electorate. The rest, with its territories, is free under its own laws and magistrates, who are composed of four burgo-masters and twenty four senators, chosen out of the citizens who profess CALVINISM: this is the established religion, and they have five churches for the citizens of that persuasion.

The number of inhabitants are computed at 30,000, who appear to live in comfortable circumstances. The greatest part of the streets are narrow: the shops are well stocked with merchandize, and they have many houses of good appearance. They have a town house, an exchange, and waterworks, by which the city is supplied from the river. One would imagine that the people are extremely pious, SOLI DEO GLO-

RIA



RIA being in large characters over their doors and windows, within doors and without.

In the market-place they shew the figure of a man in armour, who, as the people pretend, saved the city when it was in the utmost danger from the SWEDES. They call it a ROWLAND, or ROYLAND, from the name of a general who died in ITALY in the service of the emperor, by whom this was made a free city. This general was of a remarkable stature; and the figure serves to keep up a sense of freedom, though under the burlesque form of a giant of about fourteen feet high.

But nothing is so remarkable in this place, as the great dome, where their worship is performed after the LUTHERAN manner: the people of this persuasion bearing a great proportion to those of the established reformed church. It is an antient building in the gothic manner, reputed to be about 600 years old. There is a vault under it, in which are the bodies of several persons, said to be deposited there above one hundred and fifty years ago, and first discovered about forty years since to be entire, as they yet remain. These bodies lye in the vault as one common grave; the linnen in which they are drest is light as tinder: their skins look black and parched, but their features distinguishable; they are extremely light, but the cohesion of the parts entire. The vault to appearance has nothing extraordinary, except that the air seems to be temperate, and the walls perfectly dry. It is about six feet below the surface of the earth, and vaulted eight or nine feet high. A dead cat, which has been accidentally thrown in through the window, has had the same fortune as the human bodies. They will not suffer the vault to be cleansed, from an idle opinion that it may lose its virtue. Several have offered considerable sums to have their bodies deposited there, which the priests object to, alledging the sentence of GOD, that man shall return to dust; though it is more probable the magistrates do not chuse to indulge this idle vanity, as the LUTHERAN is not the established church.

BREMEN, standing on the WESER but twelve GERMAN miles from the sea, would be as advantageously situated for trade as HAMBURG,  
but



but that ships of burthen cannot come within two miles of the town, as there is often not above four feet water. This deficiency is supplied by boats, and does not hinder their building large fly boats at the town. Notwithstanding the neighbourhood of HAMBURG, the trade here is considerable: they import a great quantity of sugar from FRANCE; of the ENGLISH they take tobacco, and other WEST INDIA commodities, and also some of their manufactures. This city trades with HANOVER, SAXONY, BOHEMIA, &c. from whom they receive corn, linnen, timber and minerals. They have fresh fish in plenty in some seasons, and are said to dress leather well.

Exceeding heavy rains having fallen, and the season becoming cold, I determined to make the best of my way to AMSTERDAM. From BREMEN is a long causeway, the country being marshy, and soon covered with water. About a mile from the town we re-entered the HANOVERIAN dominions; the soil near the road is mostly sandy or heath to WILDESHUSEN, which is three very long GERMAN miles: this is a principal town, and the residence of the great bailiff of the district, of which there are about twenty five in the HANOVERIAN dominions. Mr. HEINEBER the bailiff's son, who is a young man of great virtue, accomplishments, and excellent parts<sup>a</sup>, did me the favour of a visit, and invited me to his father's house, which gave me an occasion of paying my respects to the bailiff.

The 2d I travelled on to KLOPPENBERG, three long GERMAN miles, the road very sandy. This is a mean town in the dominion of the bishop of MUNSTER, elector of COLOGN; but the country round it is pleasant, being composed of arable and meadow lands, bordered by groves and plantations.

The 3d I went on to LOENNINGEN; the distance is nominally two GERMAN miles, but here they seem to be double, and the peasants are paid near twice the common price, with this inconvenience, that instead of one postilion I was obliged to take two peasants for four horses. It has

<sup>a</sup> Now preceptor for the GERMAN language and history to the young princes.



sometimes been the fortune of travellers in this country, to have as many men to attend them, as horses to draw their vehicle.

LOENNINGEN is a mean dirty place, but the country near it pleasant and fertile. The government of these ecclesiastical princes does not seem to establish charity or politeness; at least I found the people insolent and given to extortion.

From thence to HASSELUNE is accounted two GERMAN miles; the country is very sandy. This is a more agreeable town, and has a small garrison of troops belonging to the elector of COLOGN. Poverty seemed to prevail here; but superstition still more, in consequence of that ecclesiastical power which had erected crucifixes almost on every hillock.

The next town is LINGEN, at the distance of two long GERMAN miles; the road to it is sandy, but the adjacent country pleasant. This place, which is in the circle of WESTPHALIA, is subject to the king of PRUSSIA: it stands on the river EMS, and has a fortification of some small consideration. The cleanliness, breadth, and good pavement of its streets, and regular built houses, give one the more striking idea of that good order for which the PRUSSIANS are so much distinguished. This town indeed formerly belonged to king WILLIAM III. and devolved to the house of BRANDENBURG on his death. It partakes much of DUTCH œconomy: here the exorbitant price of near a ducat a GERMAN mile for horses was first charged to me.

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#### C H A P. XLIV.

*Observations at ALMELLO, DAVENTER, &c. Reflections on the produce of tobacco. A short account of AMERSFORT and NAARDEN.*

THE 4th of October I advanced two long GERMAN miles, towards the dominions of the UNITED PROVINCES, and arrived at NORTHOORN, where I observed the women appear to be almost blinded with the smoak arising from the turf, which they have here in great abundance:  
Most



Most of the country over which I travelled from LOENNINGEN produces nothing else.

It was now the season in which the STATES order the rates of post horses to be increased about one third part more than it is from April to September: I was obliged to pay 18 gilders to ALMELLO, which is computed four GERMAN miles; but, in consideration of the roads, they gave me six horses. The little towns I now passed through began to exhibit that cleanliness for which the HOLLANDERS are so much distinguished. The marriages of this country are performed with a humorous solemnity: I observed pillars and festoons of verdure, adorned with garlands and flowers, which are prepared for the decoration of a nuptial feast at the houses of the parties.

The heaths reserved for the production of turf on this side of the country, are much larger than is generally imagined, considering the small extent of the dominion of the UNITED PROVINCES; but except these the hand of industry appears in a very remarkable degree; the inclosure of meadows, corn land and kitchen-gardens, plantation of trees and banks, which are thrown up for roads, at the same time that they demonstrate the labour of the peasant, afford an agreeable prospect. Most of their cows are red, and these are the chief riches of this part of the country, by the great quantity of butter and cheese which they produce, and in this season they feed them on an herb they call SPERSEN, which grows six or eight inches high.

ALMELLO is a neat town in the province of OVERYSSEL, where there is a manufactory of fine holland: the greatest part of what we commonly call by this name is made in SILESIA, and only bleached in the UNITED PROVINCES. The preference which I thought due to the manufactures of my own country, prevented my making any purchase in ALMELLO. The improvements we have made both in SCOTLAND and IRELAND, are such as will, I hope, in a small number of years, gratify the most luxurious, as well as afford a quantity for a considerable exportation to foreign markets.

The



The 5th I set out for DAVENTER; the road for the most part is through marshes and heath, with a ridge of hills to the north. HASLEN appears to the south west about two ENGLISH miles from the common road; some make it their way, though it is half a league about. They generally reckon here by the hours, as in ASIA, and compute two hours to a GERMAN mile; this computation is hardly too much when the roads are bad. From NORTHORN to DAVENTER they compute four GERMAN miles.

DAVENTER is a large city in the province of OVERYSSEL, formerly a hanse town, but now subject to the states. It stands on the river YSSEL, which bears vessels of burthen. There is a large bridge of wood over it, for the passage of which they pay a heavy toll. This river runs into the ZUYDER sea. The town is well fortified, and has a strong garrison; the streets and houses are very neat, and the shops well supplied with manufactures and other necessaries. It has a pretty large inland trade, but no manufactures.

From hence is a regular post, four GERMAN miles to VOORTHUSEN; the soil of the country is various; near the midway is LOO, a famous seat of the prince of ORANGE. VOORTHUSEN is a village of very little note; nor has the country an agreeable aspect. The 6th, I proceeded to AMERSFORT, two GERMAN miles, the first of which is through a sandy country, and one sees but little cultivated land, or appearance of rich inhabitants; but towards OUVELACH the country appears worthy the reputation it has in the world. There are large plantations of tobacco; for the production of which the land is thrown up into ridges of about two feet high. The consumption of this article in the UNITED PROVINCES is very considerable, and by some pretended to be necessary in so moist a climate. It may be questioned however whether the lives of the inhabitants are prolonged by it; or whether the same labour and expence which is employed about it, would not produce provision for the support of life more effectually, and for greater numbers of people: for it seems inconsistent with reason that so many thousands, I might say



millions of people in the different quarters of the world, should be employed in cultivating this herb, whilst such multitudes are suffering distress for want of the common provisions of life.

AMERSFORT is an antient and considerable town in the province of UTRECHT, on the small river EEMS, which runs to the ZUYDER sea. There is a very large church, and an excellent set of chimes, for which the UNITED PROVINCES are very remarkable; those of this town play every hour on market days from ten till twelve in the morning. This affords a cheap and agreeable amusement to the common people, and some pleasure to those in higher life who delight in music. I was struck with the neatness and cleanness of the streets and houses; but the manners of the people are not equally delicate: a certain rusticity prevails, which is sometimes shewn in an apparent contempt of strangers. This town is chiefly supported by husbandry, and has a considerable trade in tobacco of its own growth. I observed many of the people wear wooden shoes, which are indeed best calculated for their brick floors, and incessant washing.

From AMERSFORT I departed for NAARDEN, which is about two GERMAN miles distant; the turnpikes are very numerous, where passengers pay regularly, though there is no fence in many places. About two ENGLISH miles from AMERSFORT is SOESDYKE, a palace belonging to the prince of ORANGE, which has a park said to be near eight ENGLISH miles in circumference. Being impatient to get early to AMSTERDAM, I declined visiting UTRECHT, remarkable for that treaty which has blotted the annals of ENGLAND, and aggrandized the house of BOURBON, as appeared too plain in the late war. UTRECHT is said to be one of the most agreeable places, and as worthy the attention of a traveller as any in the UNITED PROVINCES.

The road to NAARDEN is pleasant, abounding in regular plantations of trees; and the country is well cultivated and inhabited. NAARDEN is a boundary of the province of HOLLAND, at a small distance from the ZUYDER sea: the fortification is considerable, being partly composed of a broad double



double mote filled from the sea, which has often made inroads upon it. In antient wars it was often sacked, and in 1486 reduced to ashes by fire. Here also the SPANIARDS massacred the inhabitants upon the occasion of the revolt of the UNITED PROVINCES. In 1672 it was taken by the FRENCH, but soon retaken by the prince of ORANGE.

From NAARDEN to AMSTERDAM is reckoned two GERMAN miles; the whole country consists of pasture lands and gardens, below the surface of the sea, if one may judge from the appearances of the bodies of ships on the water. The road on the banks of the canals is made with great cost, so that there are no less than seven tolls, at which I paid three guilders. The avenue to AMSTERDAM is a causeway, on the sides of which, near the city, are small villages and gardens belonging to the citizens, which serve to beautify the face of this artificial country. The gates of AMSTERDAM are shut at six in the evening, but there is admittance till ten, for a toll of one stiver each person. According to the ordinary computation I had travelled only forty one GERMAN miles and a half from HAMBURG. By the way of OSNABRUCK it is reckoned fifty two GERMAN miles, but the difference is rather in the computation of the miles than the real distance.

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C H A P. XLV.

*Reflections on the commercial genius of the DUTCH. A brief description of AMSTERDAM. Of the dykes in HOLLAND. Of the taxes and revenues of the UNITED PROVINCES compared with those of GREAT BRITAIN.*

THE correspondence which I had as a merchant, procured me acquaintances in AMSTERDAM, of the want of which, foreigners, who are not interested in commerce, generally complain. Indeed of all the great cities which I have yet seen, this seems to afford the least entertainment, to those whose heads and hearts are not intirely turned to



pecuniary acquisitions: here every moment seems to be filled up in the pursuit of trade, with all its various and extended connections. The people have no time to complain of a bad climate, bad weather, or the want of health: they have hardly leisure to perform the common duties of hospitality and benevolence.

The observation I made of the inhabitants of AMSTERDAM, corresponds exactly with what has been often remarked, that those disorders of the mind, particularly that of being seldom contented for any length of time, which seem to be the more peculiar affliction of my own country, where the people are more refined in manners and sentiments, are hardly known in this city, verifying the maxim, that the turn of men's minds constitutes their felicity, much more than their fortunes or external circumstances.

In allusion to this subject, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE observes, "This is  
" a disease too refined for this country and people; who are well, when  
" they are not ill, and pleased when they are not troubled; are content  
" because they think little of it; and seek their happiness in the com-  
" mon ease and commodities of life, or the increase of riches; not amu-  
" sing themselves with the more speculative contrivance of passion, or  
" refinements of pleasure."

The principal houses of business in this great metropolis of the NETHERLANDS, among several others, are those of messieurs HOPES, messieurs CLIFFORDS, and messieurs MUILMANS, with whom I had particular connections, and from whom I received great marks of hospitality and politeness. Mr. THOMAS HOPE did me the favour of a visit immediately on my arrival. This gentleman is no less distinguished for the great skill and industry, and extensive business by which he has acquired a large fortune, than for his ingenuousness and abilities, which set him at the head of the WEST INDIA company, as the deputy of the prince of ORANGE. Messieurs CLIFFORDS, who are related to the noble family of that name in ENGLAND, have, by an extensive correspondence through a long series of years, acquired a very considerable fortune; and for their probity



probity and politeness are much respected by all who have any connexion with them. Messieurs MUILMANS are well known in LONDON, from the residence of two of the brothers, who are very eminent merchants in that city. Their father and brothers in AMSTERDAM are also distinguished for their wealth, and for the share they have in the government of the UNITED PROVINCES.

This wonderful city of AMSTERDAM, as well as many other towns of the NETHERLANDS, is certainly a work of art and labour, not inferior to the greatest monuments of human industry in past ages. It is about 220 ENGLISH miles from LONDON: its proper name as derived from the river AMSTEL, is AMSTELDAM, i. e. the dam of the AMSTEL, which is the name generally given to it in authentic records. From its earliest beginning they reckon about 400 years; and 270 from its being inclosed with walls. It was not till the year 1570, that the DUTCH began to lay the foundation of their prodigious riches and naval strength. About 20 years before this time they were provoked by the oppressive measures of ROMISH bigotry, to shake off the SPANISH yoke, and adopt the doctrine of CALVIN. The SPANIARDS exerted themselves, upon this occasion, upon religious, as well as political principles; but it was not in their power to render that confederacy abortive, which at length united the seven provinces, and, forming a powerful republic, gave a just occasion to this motto; "Concordia res parvæ crescunt."

About the year 1600, the love of liberty and gain occasioned such a conflux of people, that the walls of the city were extended; since that time they have had further enlargements, the whole now making about three leagues in circumference. Her greatest strength is in the difficulty of access both by sea and land; yet have not the numerous shoals, which render the entrance of the TEXEL so difficult, obstructed the progress of her commerce. One striking proof of œconomy is very obvious, even in the fortifications of this city; for the bastions, which are very numerous, have each a windmill on them.

The



The streets are, for the most part, extremely clean; but except those which have canals, much too narrow for beauty or convenience. They are rendered the less disagreeable, as the hired coaches are set on sledges, drawn by one horse, which do not greatly incommode passengers. Merchandise is also drawn on sledges. These are not only the most convenient vehicles for the inhabitants, and their trade, but also calculated to preserve their houses, which being built on piles, might, in a length of time, be much damaged in their foundations by means of a great number of wheel-carriages. The coaches of gentlemen are however for the most part set on wheels; but they pay a considerable tax for this liberty. The principal streets, or rather quays of the canals are agreeable, particularly the KEYZARGRAFT and HEEREGRAFT, which are planted on each side with trees; but the canals sometimes throw up a very offensive stench. The people are not at a loss how to account for this inconveniency: something is owing to nature; but it is apparent, that the discipline of the state is relaxed by the canals not being kept so clean as the regulations require: these canals, in some parts, are of a considerable breadth.

The houses in AMSTERDAM are rather neat than elegant, or commodious: the nature of the climate renders it necessary to wash them often; but the greatest part of the people carry their cleanliness in this way so far, as hardly to afford themselves time for the necessary care of their persons. The same humour prevails amongst them, as with some of middling fortunes in ENGLAND; they shut themselves out of their own houses, by keeping the most useful and agreeable apartment for the entertainment of their friends on particular occasions, that is, for vanity.

The entrance of their houses is generally by stairs four or five feet from the ground, and the passage into the rooms, which run very deep, is floored and paneled with marble, which has an air of grandeur in miniature. They have much neat, and some rich furniture; but it does not seem to be the effect of a luxurious and expensive taste, so much as the observance of an antient custom of neatness and elegance. At the  
worst



worst it may plead its being less dangerous to a state, than the constant expence of a table, equipage, or amusement; and these are not countenanced in AMSTERDAM in any remarkable degree.

This city is generally esteemed one third as populous as LONDON and PARIS. They reckon within the walls, twenty-six thousand five hundred houses, and about two hundred and forty thousand inhabitants: the suburbs, though small, must add to this number.

The grand rendezvous of the merchants of this metropolis, as in other great trading cities, is the exchange, which was finished in 1613. The interior part is 250 feet long, and 140 broad; but much inferior in architecture and embellishment to that of LONDON. It is supported by forty-six pillars, which are marked with numbers; and the merchants take their stands near particular pillars, to be found the more easily. The city of AMSTERDAM is guarded by a militia, as the safest and most proper defence of their wealth and liberty; these are all burghers, and consequently no objects of jealousy, nor do they cause any considerable expence.

With regard to the several religions of the inhabitants; here is great freedom, so long as the priests avoid disturbing the repose of the state. The established faith is that of CALVIN, for which there are eleven churches for the DUTCH, one for the ENGLISH, two for the GERMANS, and two for the FRENCH. The ROMAN catholics are said to have near thirty places of worship, of which some are chapels, and others, apartments in houses fitted for that purpose. Besides these, there are LUTHERANS and ANABAPTISTS: the JEWS also are in no small number, and have their synagogues as in LONDON. But of all these different religions, none but the CALVINISTS are allowed the use of bells. The states very cautiously preserve their supremacy, by invalidating all marriages not made according to the rites of the established church, unless the parties first engage themselves in form before the civil magistrate; and when that is done, they may perform the ceremonies of their respective religions as they think proper.

Nothing



Nothing adds more to the beauty of this city, as well as of the country in general, than the plantations of trees for the public use and pleasure; an inclination which seems to prevail very much, and is highly worthy of imitation. In ENGLAND things of this sort are often done; but more for private gratification, than the general delight of the people; so that the lower classes are the more apt to crowd to gardens, where they pay their money, waste their time, and sometimes debauch themselves with excesses. We may observe however, to the honour of GREAT BRITAIN, that within these thirty years, great improvements have been made in many parts of the kingdom: works of this nature for the public recreation<sup>d</sup>, are certainly worthy of the best citizens, the most zealous patriots, and greatest princes.

The DUTCH are distinguished for the number and oeconomy of their useful charities, which seem to exceed those of ENGLAND; not in extent; for, in beneficence, the ENGLISH have hardly any bounds, as if they meant in good earnest to “cover a multitude of sins; but in regard to discipline and wholesome severity, we have not supported it so well as the DUTCH, who make all their poor perform some useful labour. It does not indeed seem possible to engage the lowest sort of the people, of any nation, to work from a mere sense of duty. If they are left to their choice, or the materials of labour withheld from them, can it be expected they will work? But if the make and constitution of man renders labour necessary to his support; I presume it follows, that he who CAN work, and WILL not, should not have food GIVEN him. Charities founded on principles not consistent with this rule, instead of drawing down blessings, produce calamities, as is often experienced.

With regard to their dykes, the DUTCH have made vast improvements since the year when the worms made great havock in their piles: they now line many of their shores with very large stones, and have carried

<sup>d</sup> For instance, St. JAMES's park contributes greatly to the health and pleasure of the inhabitants of LONDON.



this work on with great success. I observed the dyke<sup>b</sup> to the ZUYDER-SEA is raised about sixteen feet perpendicular, and goes off upon an easy decline. The stones are regularly laid, and form an excellent defence against the water. They bring these stones from NORWAY: the government pays seven guilders<sup>c</sup> a ton for any quantity that is brought; so that when masters have no better employment for their vessels, they make a voyage to NORWAY for this purpose. The work intended to be completed in this manner, is of such extent, as may yet require the labour of eight or ten years: it will, to all appearance, be not only a great saving, but also a security to the state. The dykes towards the north sea are said to be more lofty, and not to be supported but with piles at a great expence.

Even a dreadful vulcano cannot render the situation of the neighbouring inhabitants so precarious, as that of the DUTCH from the nature of their country. By great skill and industry they have indeed given laws to the ocean; but it has, upon some occasions, past its bounds, and exhibited a lively picture of that deluge, in which the whole race of mankind was once involved, a single family excepted. In 1530 a great part of ZEALAND was overflowed: in 1568 no less than seventy-two villages on the coasts of HOLLAND and FRIEZLAND were swallowed up, and near twenty thousand people perished. Those who escaped on trees and rising grounds, after suffering much with hunger, were relieved by the care of the magistrates. The inundation of November 1665, drove in the sea with violence hardly to be conceived: it broke down the dyke of MUYDENBERG, and laid the whole country round NAARDEN, and many places in the province of UTRECHT under water. The dyke between AMSTERDAM and HAERLEM was also broke, and many others, too tedious to enumerate. Notwithstanding these great mischiefs, the storms no sooner ceased, than the industry of the inhabitants repaired, in a great measure, the havock created by them.

<sup>b</sup> As this word in ENGLISH signifies a very different thing from the sense in which it is used here, it may easily deceive those who have not seen the dykes in HOLLAND; the DUTCH call it diik, which properly signifies a bank.

<sup>c</sup> Thirteen shillings.



The accidents which are common to a flat country in being overflowed with water at certain seasons of the year, do not seem to be much regarded here, as provision is made against them by housing their cattle. These also render their meadow-lands the more fertile; and when the waters are frozen, which generally happens in the winter season, it furnishes them the amusement of skating. What contributes also to the safety of this country is, that they can lay it under water when they please; yet does not this prevent the terrors of the people in regard to FRENCH armies, much less render it healthy or agreeable.

The province of HOLLAND is said to pay half the tax of the whole seven, and AMSTERDAM half<sup>d</sup> of the province of HOLLAND; from whence one must conclude, that there are immense riches in AMSTERDAM, or no great wealth in the seven provinces. The revenues of AMSTERDAM are reported to be a million sterling; and consequently the whole must be four millions; which, I apprehend, greatly exceeds the reality, or it is meant only in time of war. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE estimates their ordinary revenues in his time at twenty-one millions of guilders<sup>e</sup>; but he says the revenues of the province of HOLLAND, including AMSTERDAM, were REPORTED to be one million six hundred thousand pounds, which brings the whole to three millions two hundred thousand pounds: most calculators have made it three millions; but as things are circumstanced at present, we must not, I think, compute it above two millions of ENGLISH money.

In 1665 they raised 40 millions of guilders<sup>f</sup>, and of these, the province of HOLLAND only, paid twenty-two millions; which is nearly correspondent with the account they now give of the proportion this province bears to all the others, as already mentioned.

It may be worth the enquiry of the curious, how vastly the taxes in the UNITED PROVINCES exceed those of GREAT BRITAIN, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. They generally calculate two millions<sup>g</sup> of

<sup>d</sup> Some call it three-eighths; but I believe half is nearest the truth.    <sup>e</sup> 1,920,000 l.    <sup>f</sup> 3,820,000 l.

<sup>g</sup> The DUTCH say there are not above 80,000 inhabitants in all ZEALAND and a million in HOLLAND; so that the other five PROVINCES have 920,000.



people in the UNITED PROVINCES; and two millions at the lowest computation are annually paid in taxes: now as we compute eight millions of people, if we were to pay in proportion, our taxes should be eight millions; but I believe they are not fix. The UNITED PROVINCES are reckoned to contain only 7500 square miles; whereas ENGLAND has 49,450 square miles; consequently these PROVINCES are fix times as populous as ENGLAND. How industry flourishes among them is apparent, even if they pay but two millions; since considering the goodness, and extent of our country, and the barrenness of theirs, we may suppose ourselves capable of paying fix times as much in taxes as they; whereas we pay but three times, as above-mentioned. The truth is, they acquire riches by the sea in a double capacity, that is, by commerce and fishery; and we may conclude, from this general view, of what great consequence their fishing is to them, of which I shall make further mention in its place.

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C H A P. XLVI.

*An account of the trade of the UNITED PROVINCES. A short description of the stadthoufe. Observations on the bank of AMSTERDAM, compared with that of LONDON.*

FROM the consideration of the revenues of these PROVINCES, the most familiar transition is to their trade; and here we find numerous causes coinciding to raise the commerce of this country to so prodigious a height. The original of this is so familiar to most persons, as to need very little animadversion. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE mentions the subject in these terms: "HOLLAND has not grown rich by any native commodities, but by force of industry, by improvement and manufacture of all foreign growths, by being the general magazine of EUROPE, and furnishing all parts with whatever the market wants, or invites, and by their seamen being, as they have properly been called, the common carriers of the world."

The trade of this city was raised chiefly on the ruins of ANTWERP, once the mistress of the commercial world, till the fiery zeal of priests, and the in-



solence of military authority, trampled equally upon the laws of justice and humanity ; and, lastly, upon commerce, the support of nations. Towards the close of the 16th century, the PORTUGUEZE also, from being the greatest traders to the EAST, their commerce began to decline ; which gave the more room to this new colony of merchants, who had many of the requisites to carry trade to its highest pitch, though their country does not produce one single material for building ships.

The same reasons which I have assigned for the decline of the trade of HAMBURG, may also be given for the present diminution of the commerce of the UNITED PROVINCES ; for in proportion to the flow in some countries, it is likely to ebb in others. But to these reasons we may also add, that the increase of riches in the UNITED PROVINCES has contributed to a corruption of manners among the people, and slackened the reins of that discipline by which they acquired their wealth. According to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, the DUTCH had but little foreign trade, except that to the INDIES, till 1670 ; and, in few years after this time, the same author observes, that they began to indulge in an expensive way of life, which made their rulers think, that sumptuary laws were necessary.

But to consider things as they yet stand ; AMSTERDAM is a prodigious magazine of timber, corn, wine, and many other commodities of foreign EUROPEAN production. The inhabitants excel in dying, sugar-baking, bleaching of linnen and wax, manufacturing of paper and sail-cloth, with no inconsiderable quantity of silk and wool. Their whale-fishery generally produces great riches, and their EAST-INDIA trade is of the highest importance to them both in EUROPE and ASIA : the article of spices only is a mine of gold, which they have preserved with more care and assiduity, than if it had been really such. Here are also great repositories of gold and silver, precious stones and choice drugs, from different parts of the world.

In regard to the balance of trade between GREAT BRITAIN and the UNITED PROVINCES, the linnens, flax, sail-cloth, tiles, juniper-berries, &c. which this nation takes of the DUTCH, much exceed in value  
the



the lead, tin, tobacco and coals, which they take of the BRITISH subjects.

I must not forget that their herring fishery is a source of riches, as it employs so great a number of hands<sup>b</sup>. Persons of every age and denomination delight in this sort of food: there is hardly a family in the UNITED PROVINCES but consumes a barrel. The quantities which they send to foreign markets and convert into money, is also an object of some consequence: in whatever light we consider this fishery, it is of the greatest value to them. One would imagine that the happy situation of the BRITISH subjects rendered this trade unnecessary; at least I do not find that they ever did enjoy it in any considerable degree. King JAMES I. had this business under consideration, as appears by the ambassador CARLTON's letter, dated February 1618, from the HAGUE, which gives us an idea how things were circumstanced at that time. As the BRITISH nation is now making fresh endeavours to establish this fishery, I will venture to insert the following short extract of the letter above-mentioned, viz.

“ I find likewise in the manner of proceeding, that treating by way of  
“ proposition here, nothing can be expected but their wonted dilatory and  
“ evasive answers; their manner being to refer such propositions from  
“ the STATES GENERAL to the STATES OF HOLLAND. The STATES  
“ OF HOLLAND take advice of a certain council residing at DELFT,  
“ which they call the COUNCIL OF FISHERY. From them such an an-  
“ swer commonly comes, as may be expected from such an oracle. The  
“ way therefore (under correction) to effect your majesty's intent, is to  
“ begin with the fishers themselves, by publishing against the time of their  
“ going out, your resolution at what distance you will permit them to  
“ fish, whereby they will have recourse to their COUNCIL OF FISHERY;  
“ that council to the STATES OF HOLLAND, and those of HOLLAND to

<sup>b</sup> In 1601 they had 1500 busses, of twenty five to thirty tons, with a great number of small vessels. In 1618 it was represented to king JAMES, that the DUTCH employed 3000 ships and boats, and 15,000 men in this fishery. Their barrels usually weigh three hundred weight, containing each about 1000 herrings. It is also worth observing, that the FRENCH, of late years, have made a prodigious progress in the herring-fishery near the ENGLISH coast.



“the STATES GENERAL, who then, in place of being fought unto,  
“will, for contentment of their subjects, seek unto your majesty.”

In the time of king CHARLES II. we also find great resentments of the conduct of the DUTCH towards the ENGLISH nation; the latter complaining at the same time of their own indolence with regard to the herring fishery. The learned SELDEN maintained the argument of our exclusive right to fish, in a treatise intitled, MARE CLAUSUM; whilst GROTIUS, in behalf of the DUTCH, pleads for a MARE LIBERUM: which of the two is right, is not my business at present to enquire.

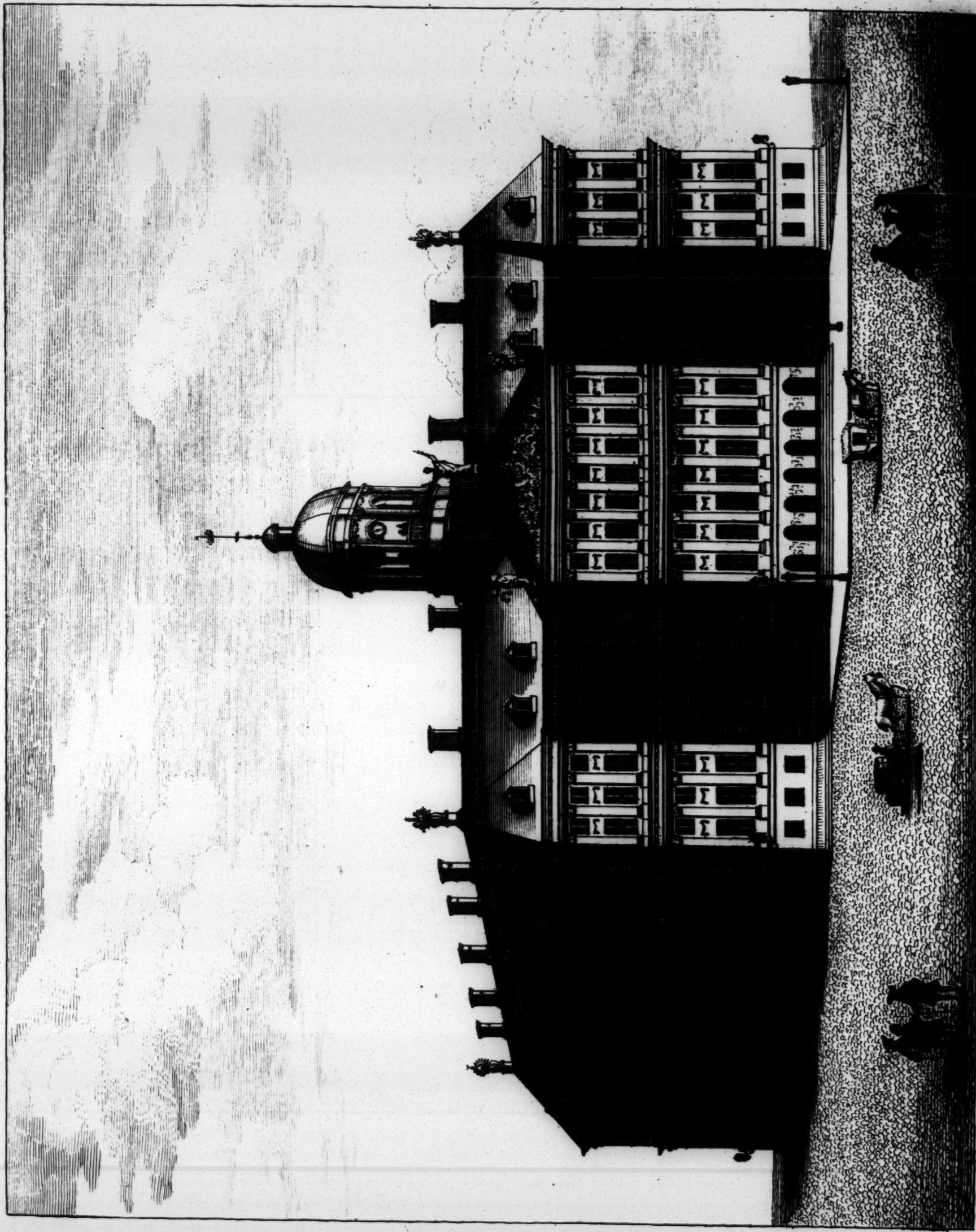
It was long imagined that the BRITISH nation declined all attempts on this fishery from a particular desire of shewing the highest regard to her good friends and allies the DUTCH; but whatever THEIR virtues are, or OUR singular obligations to them, they must be sensible either of our folly in submitting, our incapacity of hindering, or our justice in acquiescing. The HOLLANDERS depend so much on fish for their support, that it would seem a system of politics grating to humanity, to use the means which providence has put in our hands, to prevent their drawing such supplies from the sea; but we are also led by no less a motive than self-preservation, and the duty we owe to our own poor, to provide for the means of their support.

It is doubted by some, whether the erection of workhouses, without finding NEW WORK for the poor, will fully answer the purposes of the nation; but nothing can be more evident than that the fishery, supposing it succeeds, will produce an increase in our shipping, an additional manufactory in nets, and in general an employment entirely new, and of such an extent, as may in time take in a great number of the poor of GREAT BRITAIN, men, women and children, old and young; for they can all perform some part or other. It ought to be presumed that the gentlemen who have undertaken the care of this fishery, will endeavour to surprize the nation with the success, answer the good intention of the legislature, and convince the world that constancy and perseverance can do any thing except miracles. We should likewise consider, that this  
fishery,









*The Town house at Amsterdam.*



fishery, which is properly BRITISH, OUGHT to be employed to the advantage of GREAT BRITAIN, if it is practicable, as I presume it is. It is at least well deserving the attention shewn it, and the event can be known only by time. There seems to be no contradiction in the nature of the thing why it should not do; and if we determine under providence that it shall succeed, more than half the event is secured.

To return to what more immediately concerns the DUTCH; passing over the Y<sup>a</sup> to SARDAM<sup>b</sup>, I had an opportunity of observing what vast labour they execute by means of windmills. Here they saw timber at a very easy rate<sup>c</sup>, which occasions their building ships cheaper than in other parts. They grind woods, and other materials for dyeing, make gunpowder, and paper, of which here are the best manufactories of any in HOLLAND. These mills are employed in many other uses. This work is performed by very few hands, and the women are employed as well as the men; which gives one a strong idea of that industry and œconomy from whence the riches of the UNITED PROVINCES arise. There are other scenes where the people are not less active. Many of these windmills cost considerable sums of money, the foundation of them being made in a very expensive manner, as the ground is little better than a marsh.

Of all the public buildings in AMSTERDAM, either for use or ornament, the town house<sup>d</sup> is the most distinguished: the foundations of it were laid in 1648, and in seven years the building was so far advanced, that the magistrates took their seats in it. The LATIN inscription on a black marble pedestal, the representation of which constitutes part of the subject of a relievo, is to this purpose:

“ The UNITED PROVINCES of the LOW COUNTRIES, after having  
 “ bravely supported a bloody war by sea and land in every region of the  
 “ earth, against the three PHILIPS, most powerful kings of SPAIN,

<sup>a</sup> Called also the Y<sup>E</sup>, and by some the Y<sup>A</sup>, about five miles over. <sup>b</sup> The proper name of this place is SANDAM. <sup>c</sup> I observed a tree of eight or nine inches diameter sawed into thirty six boards, with great exactness. <sup>d</sup> Stadt-house.



“ for more than 80 years, and by that means secured their liberty, and  
 “ the exercise of their religion, the most honourable burgomasters.

“ GERBRANT PANCRAS,  
 “ JAQUES DE GRAAF,  
 “ SYBRANT VALKENIER, and  
 “ PIETER SCHAAP.

“ made the peace in their magistracy in 1648, their sons and relations lay-  
 “ ing the first stone of this town house, the 4th of November of the same  
 “ year.”

The dimensions of this building are 282 feet in front, 232 deep, and 116 high, exclusive of the cupola. It cost three millions of guilders\*, when money was more valuable than it is now : this may be the more easily reconciled, if we consider that no less than 13,000 large piles were driven to make a foundation for this ponderous burthen. Whether in this sum they include all the plafonds, and other paintings, of which here are some very valuable, is not essential to our present purpose. Behind the seat of the presiding burgomaster is a complimentary inscription in DUTCH verse, wrote by C. HUYGENS, one of their most eminent poets, which seems to argue the sense they had of the secure establishment of the state at that time.

To give a minute description of this edifice, would require more labour and observation than I had inclination or leisure to bestow on it. We may consider it as a very grand and useful building, but not elegant nor agreeable. It contains most of the offices and tribunals, for the execution of the laws, in the several branches of the military as well as civil government.

It is constantly remarked by foreigners, that the entrance of this building is very mean, and not worthy the other parts of the structure ; the reason assigned for this is, that in consulting the strength and usefulness

\* 300,000l.



of this work, the architect purposely neglected the beauty of it. Had the doors been proportioned, they would have been more subject to be forced, upon occasion of those tumultuous assemblies of the people, which are not unfrequent in this country<sup>f</sup>. The stadthouse is guarded during the night by a body of the burghers, who are thus charged with the care of the great reservoir of the wealth of the UNITED PROVINCES. In the lower apartments of this building is the bank, in which are supposed to be deposited immense treasures: the keys of them are deposited in the hands of the four regent burgomasters. Some report that these treasures amount to three hundred tuns of gold; and those who have faith enough to think it true, have this to say, that the value of so much gold is not above thirty two millions sterling; and the debt of the UNITED PROVINCES is yet larger, as I shall have occasion to mention hereafter. The real sum here deposited, is perhaps not known to any one person living; and even the computation in the gross, except such as I have already mentioned, is kept as an impenetrable secret; and no doubt there are many good reasons why it ought to be so<sup>g</sup>.

The notion of credit supports a great part of the commercial interest of mankind; as it had its original foundation in reality, the business of the world is carried on by means of it, perhaps as well as if that reality still existed. How long this fashion will last, I will not presume to foretell, probably as long as national faith. Banks are maintained upon a certain principle of social confidence; perhaps not so much from any good opinion which men have of each other's justice, as from a mutual tie of interest, and to prevent that distress which might follow, should the knot be once untied.

<sup>f</sup> In 1525 the anabaptists formed a conspiracy, and 600 men, during the night, forced the town-house. A burgher took the precaution to cut the ropes of the bells, by which means he prevented the alarm from spreading and the rebels from strengthening their numbers; so that the next day they were taken in the town house, and put to death. In 1535 the fanatics raised another commotion, and ran naked into the streets, men and women, intending by dreadful cries to intimidate the inhabitants, and seize on the town-house; but this piece of extravagant folly ended only in the chastisement of several of the promoters of it.

<sup>g</sup> They say king WILLIAM III. was once questioned on that subject, by one who perhaps was not distinguished for his understanding. This prince answered, "Can you keep a secret?"



The bank of AMSTERDAM differs very much from that of LONDON. In the first all the cash is lodged without paying any interest; in the last, as great sums are acknowledged to be lent to the government, which pays interest; that interest is again paid to the proprietors of the stock.

As the bank of AMSTERDAM receives only the best and purest coin or bullion; the bank-money, as properly denominated, bears a premium of four or five per cent. more than the current money. If a man is desirous to realize his estate, he sells his bank money for current money, with greater facility than we sell bank stock. Here they make payments after the manner of the bank of VENICE<sup>h</sup>, viz. by transfer in the books of the bank from the credit of one to the credit of another: these transfers are made by the personal appearance of the transferer; by his order for which there are printed forms; or by virtue of his power of attorney. No coin or specie whatsoever, when once delivered into the bank, is paid out again, unless in cases of deposits, where the identical gold or silver is reclaimed by him who delivered it in, and for that purpose he has a permit, renewable every six months, otherwise to become invalid; in the last case the cash or bullion so delivered, is blended with the common stock, and transferable only in the manner already mentioned. The accounts which are kept by the bank are remarkably regular and true, which is indeed the more essential as here are no bank-notes; so that the merchant or other creditor, has only to confer occasionally, in order to see that his accounts agree with those of the bank books. Tho' this bank pays no interest, yet it receives interest for the sums lent to the EAST and WEST INDIA companies; so that these companies trade, in some measure, for account of the state. The city is thus connected with the bank, as being so immediately under the direction of the chief burgo masters; so it is also bound for the LOMBARD<sup>i</sup>, where monies are lent on the security of all kinds of merchandize at a low interest.

<sup>h</sup> The bank of VENICE is the more antient of the two, and probably served as a model to this of AMSTERDAM.

<sup>i</sup> LEMBAERT, as denominated by the DUTCH.



The large sums of money which have been lent to the DUTCH government, are intirely independent of this bank; the revenues of the respective provinces being engaged as a security for such sums, and for which they give bonds. These debts have been made into a stock, which bearing a reasonable interest, was at first above par; but that stock being taxed, or more properly the interest reduced, and not always paid in a punctual manner, the principal is fallen under par. This being considered as a kind of violation of national faith, necessarily sinks the credit of the state.

Though the public interest in GREAT BRITAIN is also reduced, it is not felt in this manner; on the contrary, the principal stock, which is a token of great property, is lately much encreased in value; whilst the DUTCH are obliged to submit, not only to the reduction of interest, but also to the diminution of the value of the principal.

With regard to the government of AMSTERDAM, the subject has been exhausted by other writers. I will only take notice that there are twelve burgomasters who change by rotation, and of these, four are regents annually, one of the former year always remaining. Proper officers are appointed to attend these burgomasters, who are in most respects of very great weight, as the chief directors in this popular government. As the senate has the legislative, the burgomasters have, for the most part, the executive power; and their influence is necessarily the cause of their being held in the highest veneration. The original frame of this government, seems to have been founded in the inclinations of the common people, and their rulers elected by their suffrage; but as liberty in low minds is naturally apt to breed licentiousness, and consequently to destroy itself; it was, in process of time, found necessary to confine those elections to particular bodies; that is in fact for the magistrates to chuse themselves: this also has produced its evils, and occasioned jealousies and tumults, to which we may add, instability, and consequently the insecurity of the state.



Before I take my leave of AMSTERDAM, I must observe to the honour of the DUTCH, that as they acknowledge themselves to be a colony of merchants; and that civil government is essential to trade; they do not think the civil offices contemptible; nor do persons of high rank, from indolence, or a false delicacy, decline these offices, and leave them to the inferior inhabitants. It might be wished that LONDON, whose chief glory is her trade, paid the same regard to the offices of civil oeconomy: it is true, some of the most considerable citizens have lately taken the virtuous resolution of serving the community in this essential point; and it may be hoped that others will follow their example.

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C H A P. XLVII.

*Comparison of the debt of the UNITED PROVINCES with that of GREAT BRITAIN. The situation of BRITISH subjects in regard to their debt. The reduction of national interest. Moral reflections on the motives to oeconomy.*

FROM the consideration of the enormous debt of the UNITED PROVINCES, and the present condition of the DUTCH, the transition is natural to that of my own country. The circumstances of GREAT BRITAIN are incomparably better than those of the UNITED PROVINCES; the immoveable estate of the latter is not computed one fortieth part so good as ours, though their debt, at the lowest computation, is said to be half as great, and before the late war was near equal<sup>a</sup>. It is remarkable that, in order to save their money, the DUTCH plead poverty, and report their debt to be rather greater, than some apprehend it really to be. However, I think it will appear to the inquisitive world, that in regard to venality, and the want of public love, the people of the UNITED PROVINCES exceed those of GREAT BRITAIN. Whether I am partial to my own country, and that the test of this opinion will depend on which nation falls first, we must leave to futurity.

The dangerous power exercised amongst the DUTCH, was demonstrated by the conduct of their rulers in the late war, and again by the occasional tu-

<sup>a</sup> Four hundred millions of florins, or near forty millions sterling.





F. Hayman inv. et del.

C. Grignion sculp.







mults of the common people : it is still a dangerous exercise of power, whether a mob or a magistrate governs without law ? But in any case, that state would hardly submit to a sponge without a civil commotion : an attempt to wipe off their debt would probably involve them in a greater distress, than the heavy contributions of the opulent, which are necessary for the relief of it.

At the close of king WILLIAM's war the province of HOLLAND was engaged only for sixty millions of guilders<sup>b</sup>. It was in this reign that GREAT BRITAIN began to contract debts. I know not if it is worth the pains to examine, how we came to be so deep in debt, unless that enquiry can diminish it : perhaps the rapid progress of this NECESSARY EVIL is owing to the ambition of the house of BOURBON, which has been the occasion of expensive wars. We know that the ambition of that very house has involved FRANCE in the same difficulty, perhaps in no less a degree ; whilst property in an arbitrary government cannot be so secure as it is in a free state : consequently the people of FRANCE are so far in a worse condition, in respect to the debt of their government, than the BRITISH subjects. But may we impute this accident with regard to ourselves, to the facility with which necessities or expences are created, when men know where there is a fund to supply them ; or to a corruption of manners, and the profuse luxuries, which are become fashionable ? Be this as it may, it must be obvious to every dispassionate enquirer, that the encrease of property by trade, is a concomitant cause of the encrease of the national debt in GREAT BRITAIN.

We find political writers differ very much in their sentiments ; and, from the comparison of the past and present times, draw very different conclusions : this must necessarily happen, whenever we compare things, which are not the proper object of comparison. It is very plain, that, before the revolution, the BRITISH nation was not incumbered with a debt : it is now deeply immersed, and engaged to pay a very large sum annually in interest ; and yet, I hope, no one will doubt, that GREAT BRITAIN is at least as rich and powerful a nation now as it was then. The oeconomy of the state and of the people must consequently have taken a very diffe-

<sup>b</sup> 600,000 l.



rent turn. Our wars have been more expensive, because honesty and national love have been less in fashion<sup>c</sup>. Perhaps, with more oeconomy, we might have saved a considerable quantity of coin and bullion, which have been sent out of the nation: but all this time it ought to be remembered, that such coin and bullion is but a small part of our riches. I know not what computation is made of the export of it on the account of war; but I question if the whole value of the coin and bullion now in the nation amounts to four per cent on our national stock.

Wars, though they are the chastisements of heaven, are also great incentives to industry, and create a more diffusive circulation of money. The same industry and circulation, are, among others, great causes of the accumulation of our national debt; and this debt has also created a more extensive accumulation of property<sup>d</sup>: these seem to have acted reciprocally on each other; whilst the nation, as I just observed, has certainly acquired a great encrease in riches by the general balance of her trade.

Hence it arises that so much money is brought to market to be disposed of to the government upon very easy terms. Nothing can be plainer than this, that if we were to lose upon the general balance of our commerce, money would rise in value in proportion to such loss. But all things have their bounds: the very encrease of private property would render the condition of the nation the more calamitous, should the legislature, which may be considered as the great merchant of the state, enter into such deep engagements as to become bankrupt: for if the government lives upon the principal, without fixing certain bounds, it will not signify that the people live on the interest, since their mutual preservation is inseparably connected.

<sup>c</sup> To what other cause can we impute our wars being more expensive now than they were formerly? The value of things is not increased beyond the proportion of the increase of riches. As we are now better able to pay a tax of six millions, than formerly of three or four; if that which cost only three or four, is now worth six, there is no greater occasion to make war more expensive, in proportion to our revenues, now, than there was then: unless we come back to the same argument, that the formidable efforts of FRANCE have put us under a necessity of preparing greater fleets and armies than formerly. It would be very well if we could prove from thence, that the public is treated at present with as great respect as ever it was.

<sup>d</sup> E. g. If the government buys of me 1000 l. what I should not otherwise have sold for above 7 or 800, the national debt is increased, but so is my property also.

From



From this general position it may be deduced, that although the public debt has been the cause of public taxes, yet it is owing also to the same cause, that thousands have lived upon the interest of their money, when they must have otherwise encroached upon the principal; and, impoverishing themselves, have done more injury to the state, than it now suffers by the public debt; because the state has so enlarged a credit beyond any private person.

According to the present circumstances of things, a public debt is undoubtedly a benefit; but ours is too large: the great point is to observe the due measure and degree of it. Thirty or forty millions may be always convenient; and, if the state should require so much in time of war, even fifty or sixty millions may be supportable without danger to the constitution. There is a certain proportion of taxes, beyond which the inhabitants will not, or cannot pay, without danger to their liberty. If our debt should ever exceed a sum, for which the government cannot pay a PROPER interest, without exacting heavier taxes, than such as we are supposing to be consistent; though liberty may not be endangered to the present generation, yet we must entail such an incumbrance on posterity, as will hardly consist with their freedom.

The BRITISH nation is now said to owe eighty millions: in case of a war this may be enlarged to an hundred, or an hundred and twenty millions; the interest of which, though at three and half per cent. is four millions two hundred thousand pounds. So vast a principal sum would necessarily alarm the creditors on every occasion of the least danger. In proportion as that alarm encreased, public love among the people would be changed into a timorous self-love, and A LOOKING OUT each for himself; and the state might thus be reduced to bankruptcy.

The present reduction of interest to a standard of three and half per cent. seems to have all the marks of a judicious and equitable policy; but if we were to go much lower, the question is, if the state would not suffer more by the distress of individuals, than benefit by a saving in this manner? Supposing a further reduction should no ways injure the national credit,



credit, yet it would fall too hard upon those who have no other possible dependance than that of national interest; consequently expedients of a more general nature seem eligible. Annuities on lives, for instance, have been recommended; these appear better for the state than the people; and yet numbers would accept of annuities<sup>d</sup>. If the nation has patience to wait for twenty years, we may perhaps see thirty or forty millions of this debt paid off, in the method already established; perhaps we shall be able to support ourselves with honour and safety in so long a peace, or the accumulated strength of our neighbours may not, at the expiration of that time, render it necessary to swell the debt as great as it was before, and entail this incumbrance on posterity.

Of the two evils however, the more speedy diminution of the debt appears the most eligible, supposing that it would tend most to the security of this vast property. It is not a sufficient consolation to those who extend their views beyond the present hour, nor yet consistent with the dignity of the nation to say, "that so long as the government exists, the public security of the funds will be supported." As a commercial nation, we ought to calculate better, than to run a risk greatly exceeding all the advantages we can possibly propose. This is putting the thing upon a dangerous and fallacious issue; for it seems much less difficult to imagine a continuance of the independency of the nation, through the vicissitudes to which it is subject; than of the support of the public credit, through the necessities to which the government may be reduced; especially if we should be soon involved in another formidable war, that may shake the foundations of this constitution.

Though GREAT BRITAIN has just grounds to complain of her vices and immoralities, there seems to be religion and virtue enough left in the island; to create a submission to the dispensations of providence, even in a case so shocking, as that of plunging eighteen or twenty thousand people,

<sup>d</sup> It may be doubted which of the two is the greater evil, to suffer the diminution of interest during life, or the loss of the principal after death. Where there are no families in the case, the latter seems the most eligible, otherwise it would certainly be a less evil to suffer a reduction of our revenues without affecting the principal, than for a man's children to be plunged into poverty.

with



with ten times as many more who are their dependents, and the meanest of them above the labouring part of the people, at one stroke into the lowest poverty. The evil would be extended to very remote consequences, whilst the national stock would not be in the least increased; unless we suppose foreigners who have their money in our hands, must also submit to see us turn bankrupts, and at the same time hold such a rich landed estate as ours, unengaged for any future payment. What politicians are these who suppose this nation so corrupt as to run such a risk without any general benefit? The property of the merchants is in a great measure connected with the public credit: if that credit should fail, what an immense circulation would cease! what a wound would our commerce receive, in consequence of the loss of that imaginary wealth which is now as good as real!

It is true, we have an example in FRANCE of no antient date, of a large national debt being paid with a sponge: but FRANCE was, and still is, under arbitrary power; the HONOUR OF INDIVIDUALS is consequently at a much lower ebb than among us; and what could WE expect for so national a crime as this, but the tenfold curse of despotic rule?

No man of common modesty, or common sense, will pretend to say that a nation, computed upon a fair calculation to be worth from 600 to 800 millions, cannot pay off half a debt of 80 millions. The possibility is apparent; the great point is, to levy such an equal tax as shall not distress the poor, nor leave the rich any JUST cause of complaint. Whatever is done, ought to be calculated for the main end in view, which is the preservation of liberty, in the manner most practicable and agreeable to the genius of the people. The debt was contracted to supply the exigencies of the state, and to protect the whole body of the nation; the whole body of the nation then are obliged to repay it; and if the state requires it, not by taxes on the common people, but according to the proportions of the actual possessions of every individual<sup>k</sup>, in such a manner as

<sup>k</sup> Even one per cent. per annum on real property, exclusive of other taxes, would, in six or eight years, produce a vast treasure.



should not appear in the least degree destructive of liberty. Those who urge that great part of this sum has been devoured in bribes, unjust accounts, and a whole list of crying enormities under past administrations, say very little to the purpose; for if this is NOT true, the argument amounts to nothing more than a calumnious report; and if it is true, though we must own they are injuries committed against the whole community, yet they are injuries of such a nature, that the whole community are answerable for them to themselves, and must for their own sakes make good the consequences of them.

Men who think soberly on this subject, will hardly conceive that a BRITISH government has ever entertained so impious a thought, as to mean to annul this debt; or that any party secretly wish for it; consequently all POLITICAL PREDICTIONS on this principle ought to be treated as dishonourable reveries, and melancholy delusions. We ought rather to suppose, that the landed as well as monied interest of the nation, mean to pay off this debt in such a necessary proportion, as will strengthen our credit, already so justly superior to that of any other nation.

That GREAT BRITAIN is immensely rich, is indubitable. A land tax of one shilling produces half a million to the crown; and if the assessment was just and equal, and the charge of collecting reduced, it would then amount to a whole million: it follows, that the annual revenues of the proprietors of land only, are 20 millions; consequently at the moderate computation of 20 years purchase, the value is 400 millions; may not the annual industry of this nation be deemed equal to the produce of above half as much more; not to mention the plate, jewels, money, mines and houses<sup>1</sup>?

On the other hand, if the proprietors in good earnest felt the evil at their doors, and that they are the real debtors, and subject to be arrested by each other: if they were in danger of sequestration by civil war, or in consequence of foreign invasion, how greatly would this valuation sink!

<sup>1</sup> Some professed calculators make the revenues for the support of the people and the government forty three millions, which corresponds with the supposition I have made above.



I am not versed in political arithmetic, but I will suppose the value in question to be only 600 millions in the whole ; would not a gradual diminution, or rather change of property of five or six in the hundred of this national stock, in the space of eight or ten years, and I hope there is no danger of being involved in a war sooner, be a less evil than to continue so deeply in debt as we now are ? Would not this method enrich the proprietors of the ninety-four parts ? By this means all taxes on every branch of trade, and on every article of consumption, would be diminished in so great a degree, that these ninety four parts would be then more valuable than the hundred are now <sup>m</sup>. If this can be demonstrated, we seem to be in the circumstances of that miser who offered a shilling to be bled ; but the surgeon demanding half a crown, before the contest was decided, the man died. This may be our case, for we are subject to a political as well as a natural death.

Something of this sort would certainly be brought into execution, if every proprietor would say to his own heart, “ I am flattering myself  
“ into a belief that I owe nothing, when I really owe a tenth part of  
“ my estate ; which if I do not offer to pay off in part, though the go-  
“ vernment should not compel me to it, the danger my children are ex-  
“ posed to of losing the whole, is greater than the inconvenience of pay-  
“ ing my share at this time. Can I answer it to my conscience to leave  
“ the poor to pay MY DEBT from their daily labour ? Is it possible they  
“ CAN pay it whilst the taxes do little more than answer the interest of  
“ this debt, and the current annual expence of the government in time of  
“ peace ?”

The reader may laugh at the expression MY DEBT, till he considers that the term MY COUNTRY in this land of liberty is adopted as proper ; the first indeed means a deprivation of a good, as the last implies the possession of one. The debt of the public is certainly the debt of a number of individuals ; but because every one considers the sum in the gross, and thinks but with repugnance on his proportion of it, the mind being

<sup>m</sup> The vast expence this government is at in collecting taxes would revert into the national treasuries, as well as the labour of collectors, who must find a different employment.



lost on the one side in the greatness of the idea, and distressed on the other by the painfulness of it, turns to some other object.

Are we not bound, in proportion to the degree of power and fortune we possess, to act as if this debt was our own, in the common sense of the word? If every member of the body politic thus considered himself, he could not with common honesty avoid being anxious to clear himself of his share, in a necessary proportion, as already observed; and to exert his utmost abilities that others should perform their duty in like manner, and make self-love and social the same common principle.

Though the riches of some, or the poverty of others, may make them repugnant to the receipt of any part of their principal money; and though it may be imagined that national funds which pay interest are national benefits; yet it seems to be a glaring absurdity, that we had better remain so DEEP in debt, than discharge ANY PART of it; unless we had at the same time a sinking fund annually accumulating, and devoted to the support of a war, or any important call of the nation. Such a fund can hardly be supposed, for then the government would pay a large interest for a sum laying dead, out of pure love to such people who might be ignorant how to employ their money in any other way. It is, I presume, most natural to imagine, that the less we owe, the higher interest the public can afford to give upon an emergency: for that emergency we ought to be ready; we know it will come: if we judge from the experience of past ages, it is, humanly speaking, as certain as death, though we know not the time of either. Money is plenty now, but experience does not warrant its being so in time of war; on the contrary, an unprofitable peace is sometimes submitted to, merely for want of money, though we are at the same time so rich a nation; which proves how the want of public love may subvert a monarchy. The higher interest the nation gives, the greater sums it can raise<sup>n</sup>, and consequently whilst money, as well as

<sup>n</sup> The contrary is maintained by some, but that can be only in time of peace and safety, and at best proves only that the people know not how to employ all their money.



good foldiers, is confefſedly the finews of war, the fairer we bid for a ſecure and laſting peace.

Perhaps it may be alſo found, that this debt, as is generally experienced among private men, wounds the œconomy of the ſtate; if it does not prevent ſuch a number of ſhips of war being conſtantly employed, as might tend to the better ſupport of our naval ſtrength.

What but the conſideration of this debt could have ſo long induced a nation famed through the world for humanity, to raiſe a tax on the miſerable poor, for the liberty of deſtroying themſelves with liquid fire, whiſt it became a provocation to them to deſtroy others alſo, and endanger the very foundations of ſociety?

From hence it muſt appear of how great importance it is to diminifh a national debt, when we ſee ſo ſtriking an inſtance of the neceſſities of a government ariſing from that debt. No one will pretend to ſay that a miniſter, who is a man of ſenſe and humanity, could be either ignorant or careleſs in this reſpect. Is it however poſſible that a miniſtry ſhould ſee the people indifferent with relation to the public, and without any ſcruple enriching themſelves beyond due meaſure out of the public money, without being alarmed? A miniſtry leſs moderate and diſintereſted than the preſent, might be almoſt tempted to conſider the government and the people in a diſtinct view: for what is more according to the corruption of the human heart than this, that when a people do not obſerve their duty with regard to the government, the government ſhould have the leſs tenderneſs for the people? Is not this conſideration ſufficient to rouse a nation to a ſenſe of virtue?

There are without doubt many political points of univerſal concernment to a nation, and yet not eaſy to be underſtood. It is the buſineſs only of a few to know all the ſecret ſprings which move a government; hence we may juſtly entertain a jealouſy of our private apprehenſions. Some points however will be canvafſed, whether they are underſtood or not: every body can talk, though ſome may not clearly underſtand their own meaning.

We



We ought to thank heaven for what is already done towards our relief. By the particular countenance shown by the ministry, and the generous efforts of the PATRIOT CITIZEN, the interest of the national debt is reduced. There were some struggles in obtaining this necessary, great, and valuable point. That patriot citizen will not, I fear, live to see his scheme carried into execution in all its parts. The reduction of interest seems to be in effect a sumptuary law, which ought to extend to all ranks and orders.

I presume that men even in the greatest offices, profess to be no more than servants of the people; the foundation of a free government supposes the first regard due to them: consequently if the necessities of the people, for the support of the state, require their living lower in THEIR rank; those whom they enable to live in splendor, according to the nature of their respective offices in the state, ought in all reason to contribute in PROPORTION; for this plain reason, that instead of weakening their own dignity, and by this means hurting the community, they will probably, do it the greatest service, and answer the wise ends for which the people have agreed to support them in that splendor.

A liberal allowance is perhaps at all times necessary to the principal offices in a great state; and if some prodigality is countenanced when that state is in a flourishing condition, what mighty injury can it receive? But can a state be said to flourish in the sense of the present argument, when it is involved in a heavy debt? To make no distinction seems to argue as gross an impropriety as the conduct of that private man who, when his estate is without incumbrance, lives up to the height of it, and when it becomes deeply mortgaged, still makes the same expence. He may perhaps have the address to support himself for a considerable time; but if winds blow down his barns, or mortality rage among his cattle, what will become of his estate? Nations are subject to calamities as well as private men; and the exercise of human wisdom is as necessary in public as private affairs.

Upon



Upon the occasion of the late reduction of national interest, neighbouring nations ° began to gaze with wonder as if the golden age was restored to this island, and that this reduction of national interest would be followed by that of national pensions, and of the great salaries annexed to some offices, so as to bear a proportion to the SAVINGS upon the article of interest, and thus enable the government to make great advances in the payment of the national debt. In this THEIR opinion has outrun OUR virtue; but much may be expected from the equal spirit that prevails in the legislature. It is true, speculative and active virtue differ extremely. There are always more philosophers in theory than in practice; yet it ought to be presumed that those who think justly, will endeavour to act consistently.

Every man of great rank and office in this nation must either believe that our debt is really an object of no danger, and that we are conjuring up a spirit for the pleasure of being frightened; or he must be of a contrary opinion; if the last, supposing he wishes the happiness of his country, which ought to be presumed, will he not in his serious hours reason thus with his own heart? “ I see my country involved in a heavy debt  
“ which injures her foreign influence and her domestic security. It is true  
“ our affairs are mending; the interest of money is lowered, but can  
“ this produce so speedy a reduction of the national debt as our welfare  
“ requires? Is it in my power to do any real service to my country? Is it  
“ not my duty to contribute to her wants? The circumstances of the times  
“ are such, that I am not called upon for any reduction of the salary which  
“ I receive of the public, and perhaps my example will not make any  
“ impression; but if the thing is right and proper to me, it is so to all  
“ persons under the same circumstances as I am; nor will it be less right,  
“ though it should be deemed an affectation of popularity, an enthusiasm  
“ in politics, or a rank hypocrisy. Some body must begin: it may not  
“ be convenient for the minister: I confess it appears to me just and con-  
“ sistent; and my conscience dictates it to me; I can live with most HO-

° The FRENCH ministers, I am told, declared without reserve, that they thought the thing impracticable.



"NOUR on a smaller income ; for instead of pampering my dependents in  
 "a luxurious superfluity, I MAY become an instrument of providence to  
 "save eight or nine millions of people, who are all dear to me, from the  
 "miseries of civil war, or the despotic tyranny of some bold invader : but  
 "it is CERTAIN I shall perform an act of justice to my country. I  
 "shall do a charity which I hope will be acceptable in the sight of GOD.  
 "I shall express my gratitude to the public, as that common benefactor  
 "by which my ancestors have been supported through so many ages ; and  
 "by which I have myself enjoyed all the comforts and delights of the  
 "happiest government in the world, under one of the best of kings. Per-  
 "haps in the chain of effects, and the course of a wise and good provi-  
 "dence, this single action might also be a means of preserving the welfare  
 "of a great part of EUROPE ; for if the antient virtue of this island is re-  
 "stored to it ; the native valour of my countrymen may establish them as  
 "the arbiters of EUROPEAN liberty, or at least secure our own on the most  
 "permanent basis."

Were such visionary speculations brought into action, which is at least possible ; would a minister deny his acquiescence to SUCH A CONDUCT, and think SUCH A MAN a lunatic ; or rejoice to see an instance of disinterested and generous regard to the community ? Would he be sorry to find himself in a fair way of being relieved from those perplexities in which ministers in GREAT BRITAIN have been generally involved ? Would he lament to see a large saving to the nation, instead of that anxiety which attends a want of money for the purposes of government ?

If SUCH A CONDUCT were the issue of a solid judgment and well-regulated affections ; and if the necessities of the nation do require SUCH a conduct ; it may be asked why is not this, or something equal to it, brought into execution by the minister, who has the power ? Is not this begging the question ? Would a minister in GREAT BRITAIN have ANY POWER AT ALL, was he to attempt making the people virtuous in despite of themselves ? It is impossible that he can be ignorant of the inclination of the people ; and if they have not virtue enough to save the nation, that

is,



is, themselves, whenever the matter is brought to this issue, what power on earth can save them?

By operating with their bad affections, a minister might bring the people to a speedier ruin; or by a judicious opposition of them, ward off the blow for a time; but can he support the people against their wills? Let us consider the thing in another light: if those who enjoy places and pensions, and may, in some measure, have the power of acting in this respect as they please, have too much wit, or too little virtue, to renounce any part of the profits arising from such places and pensions, from a consideration that the state is in NEED; it will not follow that the landed and commercial interest, which is incomparably the most wealthy, may not contribute as largely as the state requires. Such an UNBIASSED DISINTERESTEDNESS would never be their ruin. The more virtue there is in the nation, the longer it will stand: therefore if the place or pension-man does not shew the nobility, or the country gentlemen an example of patriotism; if these begin, the effect will be near the same.

In short, if the ruling passion of persons in any state, is the preservation of their country, they will rather consider the END, than the MEANS. They will subscribe to any method not in itself inconsistent, rather than spend their time in a fruitless debate. I suppose we are still a free and a wise nation; whatever method then the legislature may appoint, the virtuous will unite in warding off every calamity to which the nation is exposed.

A resolution of the legislature to pay off a large proportion of the debt by taxes, unprecedented in these latter times, would appear to many as an invasion of liberty, and a greater evil than to suffer the debt to be paid in more moderate proportions. On the other hand, some apprehend it to be more inconsistent with liberty, that we should owe so heavy a national debt; and think it ought to be reduced by extraordinary taxes. If men of fortune are of this last opinion, and have virtue enough to act up to their principles, we shall soon owe a less exorbitant sum. If they are



not of that opinion, or have not virtue to act up to their principles, with what countenance can they complain?

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### C H A P. XLVIII.

*A description of HAERLEM. Reflexions on retirement in advanced age. Of LEYDEN and the HAGUE. A brief account of the house of ORANGE.*

ON the 16th of October I took my leave of AMSTERDAM, where it was my fortune to be at a season that was rude and disagreeable. Were the people in that city so disposed to kill themselves in an ill humour as they are in another great trading metropolis, I should think it at least as proper a place for this purpose, especially in the present month. When the frost comes on, they are more braced and active, and at all times too busy to fall into this atrocious practice. I embarked at the HAERLEM gate, taking the <sup>a</sup> roof of the treckscoot: these stage-boats are extremely commodious, as they set out at stated hours, and perform their passage at a certain time almost to a minute; but the common part of the boat is often rendered insupportable, from the custom of smoaking tobacco, so highly offensive to some persons.

The HAERLEM canal is bounded by meadow-lands, well covered with horned cattle; but there are not many houses near the banks. In two hours and a half we reached HAERLEM. This is a town of very great note, and not less distinguished for its cleanness. It is remarkable for bleaching, also for the manufactory of linnen, and several other material articles. Here was a considerable garrison of soldiers: the fortification, in some parts, is only a lofty brick wall. This place is said to have flourished so early as the year 1155. In 1292 a revolution happened, in which great part of it was burnt: a circumstance of the like nature happened by accident in 1347. In 1573 it was taken by the SPANIARDS, who treated the inhabitants

<sup>a</sup> The cabin.

with



with great cruelty; 1700 men, the remains of the garrison, were either hanged, or put to the sword, for defending themselves eight months. Here are twelve churches, of which four only are of the established religion. HAERLEM lays claim to the invention of printing, which they attribute to LAWRENCE COSTER, who was born here about the beginning of the 15th century. A little to the south of this city is the HAERLEM-MEER, which is a large lake, but as it abounds in shallows, and is too much exposed to the wind, the canal is much preferable for the commerce with AMSTERDAM.

After a short stay I embarked for LEYDEN: the land behind HAERLEM is hilly and sandy, and the banks of the LEYDEN canal are higher than those of HAERLEM. Here they cover their cows with body-cloths, assigning this as a reason, that by keeping their backs warm, they give milk the more abundantly. There are several country houses and plantations of trees, and agreeable walks. About three miles from HAERLEM is HARTCAMP, the country-seat of old Mr. CLIFFORD; this gentleman is possessed of a considerable fortune, and having a taste for gardening, he passes his time mostly in the country.

The acquisition of riches being, for the most part, the supreme object of a DUTCHMAN's attention; seldom any of them leave the world till the world leaves them, however indulgent providence may have been to them, with regard to the means of a comfortable and honourable retirement. It is no uncommon thing in all countries to grasp at the objects of avarice and ambition, even under the circumstances of age and sickness; and though such men see themselves, if they see at all, suspended by a hair between the visible and invisible world, yet will they continue to be led by the delusions of the mind. It is true, there is nothing in which we are oftener mistaken, than in our apprehensions of the pleasures of retirement, after a life devoted to business. Men of contemplative minds are apt to think of this too early, and persons of a contrary turn never imagine it is late enough. Active virtue is certainly preferable to that which is passive only; yet it seems unpardonable in old men of easy fortunes, who, having



made the experiment, find that they CAN bring themselves to a relish of a contemplative life, that they DO NOT devote the greatest part of their latter days to it. Every profession, I believe, has reason enough to rejoice in an opportunity of making up for the deficiencies of the earlier part of life; but some callings, in a more peculiar manner, keep the mind in a continual hurry, or, which is much the same, in a closer attention to the concerns of this world than is consistent with the duties of religion. Old men ought to be ready to assist with their counsel: but is it not sometimes an injury to the society for them to refuse giving up the more active scenes of life? Those who are best qualified, by their years and strength, for a greater fertility and energy of thought, should certainly have the office which GOD and nature seems to have appointed for them. Mr. CLIFFORD, in this respect, has judged like a man of sense and virtue.

It may be observed however, that, in commercial nations, men of the most advanced age, and greatest fortunes, seem to think it as consistent to die with a pen, as with a prayer-book, in their hands. The opulency of nations, in some measure, arises from this spirit; but it cannot be right policy to give more of ourselves to this world than belongs to it. Besides, most of the good purposes of life relating to national welfare, may be answered by initiating our sons or relations into an early taste of commerce, and committing it to their conduct before we die, under circumstances that may render it pleasant, as well as profitable; rather than to leave them immense fortunes, perhaps to be squandered after our death, merely for want of this precaution.

The distance to LEYDEN is fifteen ENGLISH miles: we were four hours exactly on the way. On the bank of the canal, near this place, is the seat of the famous Dr. BOERHAVE, now in the hands of a person of that name, who also professes physic. This place is well known for its university, and great antiquity. It is also remarkable for a considerable manufactory of woollen cloth, which however, for some years past, has very much decreased, partly owing to the decay of the PERSIAN trade carried on by the ARMENIANS, which equally affects the silk manu-



manufactories of AMSTERDAM<sup>b</sup>. There is a considerable number of students from all parts of EUROPE, and the university is of great reputation. They have generally a very large garrison: the city in itself is neat and agreeable; but, as most other places in the UNITED PROVINCES have too much water, this has not enough; nor has it such a communication with the sea as affords a proper motion by tides to keep the water sweet. The gardens about it are extremely fruitful, and land bears a prodigious price.

In 1574 the SPANIARDS besieged this town, upon which occasion the inhabitants, to the number of about twenty thousand, behaved with such intrepid valour during a siege of five months, that the very women performed the military duty. About six thousand died of the plague and famine; and being at length reduced to the last extremity, they were summoned by the SPANISH general FRANCIS BALDEZ to surrender; they answered bravely, that so long as they had a LEFT arm, they should not want provision; and that they would employ their RIGHT to defend their liberty. They say that ADRIAN DE WERF, a burgomaster, being importuned by some of the inhabitants to surrender the city, replied, "Since I must die, my friends, it does not signify whether it be by you, or the enemy; cut my body into pieces, and divide it amongst you; I shall expire contented, if I can be a means of preserving you, though it were for one hour only." Providence at length interposed in a signal manner for their deliverance; count LEWIS of NASSAU, brother to the prince of ORANGE, came to their succour, and obliged the SPANIARDS to retire.

From LEYDEN I went to the HAGUE, where we arrived in three hours. A place so renowned for political negotiations would, on that account, be celebrated in the journals of travellers, even though it was not in itself equal, in some respects, to the proudest cities in EUROPE: it has no inclosure, and is called a village; the streets are broad, and several of them are

<sup>b</sup> It appears that the DUTCH were jealous of the ENGLISH trade through RUSSIA to PERSIA, and that Mr. DE DIEU applied in 1745 for the same privilege as the BRITISH subjects then enjoyed, in order to obtain an ample supply of silk. At present the great decline of this branch of trade is owing to the troubles in PERSIA.



without canals : their houses for the most part are extremely well built. The number of coaches belonging to noblemen and gentlemen, and the gay appearance of dress, give one an idea of life very different from that of the trading cities. People here are more polite and easy in their carriage than in other parts of HOLLAND ; this is a natural consequence of some of the most considerable persons in EUROPE meeting there continually for political affairs, in the service of almost every EUROPEAN prince : besides as the STATES GENERAL assemble here, this draws the greatest part of the people of the first distinction in the UNITED PROVINCES. The HAGUE may also be considered either as a great city, or a rural scene : for the ENVIRONS which immediately inclose it are extremely delightful ; whilst they have plays, and other amusements, as customary in great cities.

The air of this place is said to be very wholesome. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE attributes longer life to the inhabitants of this village, than to those of any other place in the UNITED PROVINCES ; yet are the people more careless in cleaning their canals, than is consistent with the preservation of health. It is really amazing how men decline into neglects injurious to the society, which might be prevented with the least thought and industry. Near this place is the palace known by the name of the house in the wood, which belongs to the prince of ORANGE ; as also RYSWICK, famous for the peace of 1697.

One of the finest houses in the HAGUE belongs to count WILLIAM BENTINCK, and was now occupied by the prince of ORANGE. As this nobleman had been so extremely obliging in HANOVER, as to invite me to his house at the HAGUE, I went to pay my respects to him at SORGVLIET, where he generally resides in the summer season : but he was gone to meet his BRITANNIC majesty in his return from HANOVER. This seat is near two ENGLISH miles distance, and much frequented by persons of taste. The house is of little note ; but the gardens, though in many parts yet uncultivated, are delightful. They abound in lofty trees, and different kinds of hanging walks, which diversify the scene, and render them very pleasant, particularly in a country where most of their country-seats









Gerard Sanders ad Vivum del.

Ant. Walker Sculpit.

The Prince of Orange 1750.



seats are upon a dead flat: on the road to it there is a public garden, in imitation of VAUX-HALL.

At the HAGUE are only two churches of any consequence. Though several of the streets abound in shops, their trade is mostly confined to their own consumptions; hence this place is preferred for the quartering of the soldiery, of whom here was a regiment of grey cavalry of HESSIANS, who made a gallant appearance, also a regiment of DUTCH dragoons, and two regiments of infantry. The pay of a common soldier in the DUTCH service is four stivers, cloaths deducted; but provisions are dear. I observed their clothing, which is blue, is of much better cloth than that in which his PRUSSIAN majesty's soldiers are clad; the sergeants of the guards have silver-laced regimentals. The DUTCH are distinguished from the HESSIANS and SWISS by white breeches. They are extremely neat, their hair being dressed in the manner of the PRUSSIAN soldiers, but their cloaths are not quite so short: they are incumbered with heavier swords and larger hats, whilst their muskets are lighter. They perform their exercise with exactness, and are examined every fourth day that their arms be kept in order. In 1666 the DUTCH had 60,000 men in pay, and four years after at the general peace, upon the reduction of the army they continued 26,200 men, which costing annually six millions of guilders, this we may reckon twenty-three pounds each man, officers included.

As this place might be considered more immediately the court of the prince of ORANGE, I hardly expected to hear any thing said of him disrespectfully. It is well known however with what reluctance a considerable party in the UNITED PROVINCES submitted to this prince's accession to the dignity enjoyed by his fore-fathers; though he had so just a title, not only on account of THEIR merit, but HIS OWN also; and not less from the nature of the constitution of that country, and the experience of past ages, than from the particular danger of the time, in which this event was brought about.



WILLIAM, surnamed the GREAT, was the FIRST STADT-HOLDER, and may be properly called the founder of the republic. He spent his life in the study of war and politics, in which he was a great proficient, and not less distinguished for his private virtues. He was at length assassinated, in consequence of the resentments of the SPANIARDS, and sealed the generous actions of his life with his blood. His son MAURICE, the second stadtholder, adhering to the virtuous principles of his father, supported the independency of the republic. HENRY FREDERIC, the next brother, succeeding to the stadtholdership, distinguished himself as a warrior and a patriot. The fourth stadtholder was WILLIAM II. who married the eldest daughter of our king CHARLES I. This prince dying at the age of twenty-four, left a posthumous son, who was our WILLIAM III. In his infancy the dignity of stadtholdership was annulled; but the terror of FRENCH armies obliged the STATES to recur to that expedient to which they owed their very being, as a republic. King WILLIAM fought their battles, and saved them. After his decease, though the dignity of stadtholder was not abolished, it was suffered to expire; nor did the STATES revive it till the sixth and present stadtholder, WILLIAM CHARLES HENRY FRIZO, a collateral branch of the illustrious house of ORANGE, who by the salutary mediation of a strong party of his friends, and the spirit of a mob, when a FRENCH army was already at their doors, had this dignity conferred on him in 1745. With what moderation he has used it, and what little respect has been shewed to it, the history of the times will make apparent. I only mention what fell under my notice of the general turn of the party in the UNITED PROVINCES, who were luke-warm friends, or no friends at all, to the prince; with this distinction however, that some who hated the STADTHOLDER, loved the PRINCE.

Considering the neighbourhood and great power of FRANCE, the present, as they think, precarious peace, and the disunion of their councils; the DUTCH seem to be persuaded that there must be a power lodged in ONE, to unite and exert their force in case of danger. Reason and experience have taught



taught them the necessity of this power: But a state must possess more virtue than I am afraid there is among the DUTCH, to suppress those prejudices and resentments which are apt to arise in the minds of one part of a people upon any change of government. The anti stadtholders, who wish to see the prince pulled out of his seat, operate with him most heartily in making provision for the very men they most despise, or hate, whenever they think they can, by this means, render his office odious to the people: thus his highness has to struggle with secret, as well as professed enemies. Men of moderation say, he does not want parts, that he is a man of a most amiable disposition, of an excellent heart, and yet every day he loses ground; alledging that "his disposition may be good; but the effects of it are bad, by his being too indulgent to men of no principles."

It is a common saying, we love the treason, though we hate the traitor: to save a state can hardly be called treason; but it is generally thought a dangerous maxim in politics, to put men in offices of trust, whose principles allow them to take any side that may afterwards appear to be their interest. But how will they prove, that the prince makes choice of such men? It may be suspected, that those who are not in office are, for that very reason, disaffected. It is granted that many persons, whose power is now eclipsed, ought not to be admitted to the offices of the state, because they have a rooted dislike to the prince, as well as to the stadtholdership: but then it is OBJECTED, that those who love the prince, and acquiesce sincerely in the power vested in him; who are capable of service, and beloved by the people, are notwithstanding kept out of office. They acknowledge that every honest man cannot be employed; but that such persons of worth and honour ought not to be rejected, for the servile tools, and lower instruments, who brought the prince into office, but are by no means able to establish such a degree of power, as is essential to that office; that such men ought rather to be rewarded in a pecuniary way, or by employments abroad; but not to be preferred so as to disgrace their very patrons, who are ashamed to own their having brought them into place: whereas by chusing men of worth and reputation, who are really the prince's friends, there would be no difficulty in his acquiring a proper ascendancy, and thereby establish himself in the minds of the people.



How the prince ought to act, is hard to say; but this is clear to me, that his very moderation which would render him amiable in a virtuous age, will make him contemptible in a vicious one; for, without a great share of resolution, it is not possible to govern men, who have been used to make their own will the law and rule of their conduct.

To drop so critical a point, let us consider the authority of a stadtholder, which is very confined, unless when he appears at the head of an army, and then perhaps he is not only an object of jealousy, but his power too much circumscribed. The stadtholder sometimes signs public treaties in conjunction with the states, but such treaties do not derive from hence the greater weight or authenticity; for though he is supposed to represent the dignity of the republic, yet whilst the STATES possess the sovereignty, he cannot be considered but as a subject. He has indeed the power to pardon condemned malefactors; but he has not even a seat or vote in the assemblies of the STATES. There are certain prerogatives annexed to the office, which vary in the different provinces, and are alterable by the power from whence they are derived, that is, by the STATES GENERAL.

The stadtholdership, which is now made hereditary in the house of ORANGE, was, from its original nature, elective; but the high and indelible obligations which the DUTCH owe to WILLIAM the GREAT; and the renowned patriotism and fidelity of the illustrious house of ORANGE, through every generation, have ever thrown the choice on this family as a kind of necessary consequence.

The appointment of the stadtholdership from the STATES, is one hundred thousand guilders<sup>b</sup>, and the prince's paternal inheritance is far more considerable.

But, alas! while we are yet speaking, his candle is burnt out; and all our wishes for his temporal happiness vanish like a dream in the night. The memory of this excellent PRINCE will indeed ever retain a sweet favor, and must do honour to human nature, whilst probity is revered by mankind.



## C H A P. XLIX.

*A general account of the commerce and cause of riches, as also of the air, soil, &c. of the UNITED PROVINCES. Of the genius and manners of the DUTCH, their parcimony, cloathing, women, &c.*

IT may appear careless to leave the UNITED PROVINCES without some general reflections, especially as travellers, either in pursuit of learning or pleasure, seldom consider this country in the same light as ITALY or FRANCE; and consequently there is not much said of it, except in laborious historical accounts. Indeed it ought not to be expected from one who only rides post, that he should be able to give an accurate and circumstantial account of a foreign country, when perhaps he knows very little of his own, after living in it for many years.

I know not if any body has given an account of the UNITED PROVINCES so worthy of esteem as that of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE. His general idea of these people in his time is contained in these words: "HOLLAND  
"is a country where the earth is better than the air, and profit more  
"in request than honour; where there is more sense than wit; more  
"good nature than good humour; and more wealth than pleasure; where  
"a man would chuse rather to travel than to live; shall find more things  
"to observe than desire; and more persons to esteem than to love."

As a kind of contrast to what is remarked by this polite author, the following description will corroborate the notion which the unprejudiced reader may have received of the genius of the DUTCH, and the nature of their country. This burlesque, and perhaps obscure historian says,  
"In HOLLAND the four elements are good for nothing; it is a coun-  
"try where they worship a golden idol, seated on a throne of cheese,  
"and crowned with tobacco; where art surpasses nature, and industry  
"alone makes the state flourish; where rusticity of speech is prefer-  
"red to the persuasive softness of gentle words, and a coarseness of  
"manners



“manners makes a show of liberty; where the wives are mistresses,  
“and the husbands servants; where the houses, by dint of frequent  
“washings, appear as cabinets; and an excess of cleanliness is inconve-  
“nient: in a word, where butter and cheese is the harvest and reward  
“of the people’s toil.”

The DUTCH are most certainly devoted to commerce, and, though in the midst of EUROPE, detached as it were from other nations: they are bred up in an abhorrence of regal power, and consequently have a distaste of the manners of the polite nations who are subject to this form of government. Under these circumstances they can hardly be supposed to raise many men of genius, or to cultivate the more refined arts of contemplative life and liberal science. It may be presumed that later ages have improved many of the higher ranks of their people, but perhaps some of them have at the same time exchanged their parcimonious simplicity for an expensive and luxurious manner of living, and by rendering themselves necessitous, opened a way to those temptations which their artful and ambitious neighbours have thought proper to play upon them.

The ease, the gentleness, the sweetness of manners which we find in the polite nations, are seldom possessed, even amongst the higher ranks of the people in HOLLAND, though we often meet with an excess of complaisance: nor is this at all surprising if we consider that men devoted to arts of gain from their earliest life, can with difficulty be formed to a true taste of society. The amusement in which the DUTCH have the greatest pretence to delicacy, is that of gardening, for which some of them contract so great a passion, that I have heard there is a law restraining the price of tulip roots.

They are so well convinced that much diversion not only creates expence, but calls off the mind from business and domestic duties, that in AMSTERDAM no public shows are permitted within the walls. After seven in the evening every person that passes the gates pays one stiver, and a coach five stivers; so that diversions are taxed with this impost. It is not however very considerable, for the people have not a great passion  
for



for theatrical entertainments. In the winter time skeiting is their greatest amusement. Their retired manner of living is often the occasion that the men when they affect a chearful, polite, and delicate turn of manners, are awkward; and when gay, wicked: the same remark holds with the women also, when they depart from a reserved habit of life.

Their notions of religion, which must ever influence the manners of a people, are not very liberal; and though the practice of it is strictly enjoined as a duty, it does not appear to be rendered delightful. I have heard an HOLLANDER ingenuously acknowledge, that their priests cannot be in any great reputation, for want of that politeness which is essential to all ranks of men in office in a civilized state. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's remark is, "That if religion does more good in other places, "it does less hurt here."

The same author imputes the grandeur of their state in a great measure to the modesty and simplicity of their manner of living, which was the general fashion among the first magistrates in his time; and he adds, that he never saw the great pensioner DE WIT in a coach, nor his cloathing, equipage, house or furniture, beyond that of any private merchant.

It is not difficult to conceive, that constant application to business, and indefatigable industry not diverted by any of the warmer passions, nor by the habit or temptation of pleasure, should produce that degree of wealth, power and influence, at which the HOLLANDERS once arrived, and of which, with respect to individuals, they may yet boast.

With regard to the air or water of the NETHERLANDS, the elements are in no country more blended than in this. The abundance of water must necessarily affect the air: at some seasons of the year, many of their most fertile spots are overflowed, which renders both land and water disagreeable. Those DUTCHMEN who know little but of their own country, ask how we manage in ENGLAND to keep our cattle in the field during the winter. Turf, which is reckoned much inferior to wood or coal,



coal, is the chief article of fuel to the inhabitants. But this land of moisture does not ordinarily prevent the people from enjoying a moderate share of health, though their lives seem to be shorter than with us in GREAT BRITAIN. There are several instances of remarkable recoveries in HOLLAND, from consumptive cases, which I believe are not so general among them as in ENGLAND. The reason of this I impute not so much to their climate as their careful manner of cloathing. In ENGLAND people too often dress, feed, and expose themselves to heat and cold, without any regard to difference of constitution. A careless indifference in this respect must be often attended with the same or worse consequences, than an injudicious sollicitude.

The vapours arising from the canals in HOLLAND, affect the air in such a manner that the fronts of the houses near the water side are frequently discoloured in one night; this occasions a particular attention to the outside as well as the interior part of their buildings. The manner in which the DUTCH cloath themselves, is a demonstration how subject they are to rheumatic pains, necessity having taught them that kind of habit, which we are inadvertently apt to ridicule.

There are many HOLLANDERS who think judiciously, and, in some respects, live elegantly; but I believe few philosophically. The common people are extremely boorish: I have seen a boatman in a great city, though indeed the distinction of city and village is very inconsiderable, strut up and down a room with his hat on, his hands on his hips, and, with a careless air of insolence, spit at the feet of a gentleman who was treating him with civility, and giving him an opportunity of gaining a guinea for an inconsiderable service. This sort of conduct they mistake for liberty<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>b</sup> Foreigners make complaint also of the ill-manners of the common people in ENGLAND; but this is expressed rather by a libertine than a boorish conduct; and though we have some savages in human shape, yet the general turn of our people is humane: to this purpose I knew an instance of a common fellow who insulted a FRENCH lady in the street, by the name of FRENCH bitch. Before she advanced many paces she happened to fall, and the same man who had that moment treated her with such unworthy language, was the first who assisted her in rising, addressing her with great complaisance in these words, 'I hope madam you have not hurt yourself.'

whilst



whilst their knowledge is confined to the ordinary means of gain, and the gratification of the calls of nature. Cheese, beer and tobacco are the joys which seem to crown the labours of the common people: geneva, to which they are well known to be no enemy, and which is not altogether improper to their climate, contributes much to the circulation of their blood; but they are apt in their cups to mix cruelty with rusticity.

As they are not so much improved in their sentiments as our common people, neither are they so strong, active and capable of labour; this may be imputed, not only to the different genius's of nations, but also to the superiority of our climate, and the different nature of the liberty we enjoy: add to this that the animal food which our common people eat, is incomparably more strengthening than their fish, cheese, milk and grout, to which the poverty of their own produce confines them. It is true the UNITED PROVINCES abound in pasture lands; but cheese being so great an article of commerce, as some of the inhabitants cannot, others will not, afford themselves flesh for their diet. A moderate use of animal food would, in all probability, tend to the prolongation of their lives in that moist climate.

Constancy of employment, coldness of complexion, and perhaps the nature of their food also, may contribute to their being but little given to amour. The women, I speak not of the higher ranks, adorn their heads with gold lace, and other such ornaments, but with more frugality than generally practised in GERMANY. Except a few court ladies, they have not much taste or delicacy in their manners. There are some of good complexions, but not many beautiful. Their teeth in general are bad, probably owing to the use of hot liquors, as tea, coffee, &c. I observed particularly at SAARDAM, that many of the women are pale and languid, and not a few crooked. They acknowledge that most of their children, till the age of eight or ten years, are sickly; and indeed the women seem so incessantly employed in cleaning their houses, and other offices, of which some are in common with their husbands, that one would imagine they did not afford themselves rest enough to breed children, or at least not  
time



time to support them when they were born. The women in this country seldom breed after the age of thirty. As the men are remarkable for the many breeches they wear, the women, for the most part, use pots with live coals of wood or turf, which they set into boxes bored full of holes, and put under their petticoats, to warm themselves in cold weather; this is not only apt to make them old from the waist downward before the time ordained by nature, but the smell of the coals is offensive. Upon the whole they have a proverbial saying, that the dirtiest piece of furniture in the house of a DUTCHMAN is his wife.

Whether it is the remains of any jealousy which they have retained since the time of the SPANISH government, or the mere effect of prudence, I could not help observing that many of them will not mention their wives in company, nor do they seem pleased that others should speak of them; though in the most respectful terms. One would imagine where the laws are so favourable to the women, as to give them at least an equal share of dominion with their husbands, that conversation should be more free: this conduct however may be imputed to that incommunicative manner of life, in which the lower and middle sorts of the people are bred up.

It is no uncommon thing in HOLLAND, except among those who have travelled and acquired some generosity of behaviour, to treat strangers by whom they get nothing, with that sort of reserve as plainly indicates that you may go about your business as soon as you please. But there is nothing which lowers the reputation of the HOLLANDERS, or reflects greater dishonour on them than their cruelty. This does not arise so much from fiery particles in their blood, or warm passions, as the love of money, witness their sacrifices of human blood: but they have followed the example of their old masters, by taking the same steps to support themselves in the EAST as the others did in the WEST INDIES. In this GREAT BRITAIN is distinguished, no part of her greatness being owing to unwarrantable slaughter.



## C H A P. L.

*Of the present situation of the DUTCH, and their partiality to FRANCE.  
Their prevailing opinions with regard to GREAT BRITAIN.*

**I**F we consider a government of so complex a nature as that of the UNITED PROVINCES, in which such a variety of interests and inclination are necessary to support it in full force and efficacy; it is rather amazing how it has lasted so long, than that of late years it has tottered, and been in danger of subversion. It is no mean entertainment to trace this republic to its origin. Historians seem to agree, that the people of which it is composed, so early as the time when the ROMAN commonwealth gave laws to a great part of the world, were in the highest degree impatient of any encroachments on their liberty.

Under PHILIP II. of SPAIN they groaned under heavy oppressions. Several formidable attempts were made from the year 1556 to 1579, to compel them to submit to an arbitrary power, extended not to their lives and fortunes only, but also to their consciences. Persecutions have often called forth such a degree of human strength as seem to argue the interposition of the immediate hand of GOD. The treaty of MUNSTER in 1648, at length settled the independence of the republic: the deputies of the STATES were no longer denominated rebels by the SPANIARDS. The vigilance, sobriety and industry of the DUTCH supporteth their revolt against the crown of SPAIN, and after many years spent in laborious trials of their own constancy, they formed at length that plan of government which now exists. How long it will last is hard to say; the foundation of it does not appear to be very stable. A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST IT SELF, CANNOT STAND. Whilst these people are not agreed concerning their first magistrate, they will never invest him with power sufficient to answer all the various exigencies to which the state is subject.

It seems evident from their late conduct, from the present condition of that state, and from the nature of their constitution, that they are in no  
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happy, or secure situation. Hence they require the help of a first magistrate, whose power, though limited, shall be sufficient to constitute him the umpire of all their interior contests, and who, by a proper direction of their strength, may restore them to a REAL independency. Their conduct in the late war was a demonstrative proof that themselves conceived their security was founded in the clashing interest of other princes, and that their country was not in such great danger as we commonly apprehended, because the division of the spoil would create difficulties among the neighbouring powers.

A free state, whose inhabitants are rich, surrounded by powerful neighbours, able to support a considerable military force, and yet unwilling to support it, can hardly be presumed to exist long without some change: at least we may conclude that such a system of politics as that of GREAT BRITAIN contending for the independency of the UNITED PROVINCES, in the same manner as in the last war, without their exerting their own strength, cannot last long. Supposing that their preservation was not the sole motive on which we set out, yet it must be ever allowed, that if FLANDERS becomes a prey to FRANCE, and the barrier is lost, the liberty of the DUTCH is at the mercy of the FRENCH: and what would have become of the barrier in the last war, had it not been for GREAT BRITAIN, it is not difficult to determine.

If the DUTCH are incapable of defending themselves; if their state, though in its early period, is grown decrepit, and needs a support; can GREAT BRITAIN afford such a support, or must it come from another quarter on the continent? What quarter is hard to say. It seems more consistent with their interest to change to some more happy form of government, by a consent of the people, than to run the hazard of being compelled to change for the worse, by some bold invader: and if their independency is of such moment to us, as it may be presumed they imagine, it might be more our interest to assist them in that change, than follow such a system as that of the late war. The DUTCH are tenacious of their liberty, but seem to fall into a belief that they need not provide the means of supporting that liberty, as their good friends the

ENGLISH



ENGLISH, and other allies, will do that business for them. We may see what notions Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE had of this republic, when he says, " Thus these stomachful people, who could not endure the least exercise of arbitrary power, or impositions, or the sight of any foreign troops, under the SPANISH government, have been since inured to all of them, in the highest degree under their own popular magistrates, bridled with hard laws, terrified with severe executions, environed with foreign forces, and oppressed with the most cruel hardship, and variety of taxes that was ever known under any government." It might be expected, that the remembrance of these calamities, which did not arise from us, but from our common enemies, should, whilst that common enemy is in the same strength and inclination, bind them to us in the strongest friendship; but this is plainly not the case.

Politicians seem to agree, that the interest of the MARITIME POWERS is mutual: that is, so long as they in fact continue to be MARITIME POWERS: and ought not the UNITED PROVINCES to continue a maritime power, if they mean to support an independency? The union of such maritime powers might be a counterpoise to that of the house of BOURBON: whereas if they aim at a counterpoise entirely by land, it is plain they must go much farther for it, engage in deeper expences, and complex treaties; and take share in the quarrels of other powers, which must render the welfare of their state the more precarious. Besides, as commerce naturally encreases with naval strength; such union might prove the best means of checking the rapid progress of the trade of other countries, and particularly that of FRANCE, whenever it should prove prejudicial to this mutual and natural interest. However consistent this system may be, the fact is, that in the last war, either the timidity of the DUTCH; the artifices of FRENCH ministers, who disguised this matter; or perhaps that PERSUASION which is apt to conquer all mankind, inclined them more to see GREAT BRITAIN ruined, than erecting new trophies on the ruin of the FRENCH commerce. This is very certain, that the DUTCH looked with a jealous eye on the BRITISH trade, concluding that every step it was advanced, their own would be thrown back.



If our interest was really mutual, they were as blind to their own advantage and security as averse to ours: and if it was not mutual, the system of our politics was founded on a fallacy, which THEY easily saw through. It is a truth too obvious to be denied, that the DUTCH do receive some PRESENT advantages by their commerce with FRANCE; and this was one great obstacle to our detaching them from that delusive connexion. As to the FUTURE, it does not seem to be the fashion of mankind to consider; their thoughts are absorbed in present gratifications. If this were not the case, I presume the thing would have taken a different turn, and remoter consequences would have been examined into.

If the game had been played fair, the question is, whether the bulk of the people of the UNITED PROVINCES would not have seen, that no point can be more essential to them, than to keep the wings of the house of BOURBON so well clipt, as to put it out of her power to fly away with their country, their riches, and their commerce; for probably they must ALL go together: it is impossible they can be the same people under an arbitrary monarchy.

Notwithstanding all the artful evasions, and ungenerousness of the DUTCH in the late war; it is hard to say what had been their fate, if BRITISH valour, and BRITISH treasure, had not been so much employed to keep FRANCE at bay. That the DUTCH set out upon false principles in the late war, I believe all the world will grant. Who can relate without sorrow, the event of the battle of FONTENOY, when victory was snatched from us, not so much by our enemies, as by our friends? We had indeed reason to suspect, that the DUTCH did not mean well to us: we knew their government was embarrassed, and wore a double face. SOME of their ministers were for fighting, OTHERS for a neutrality, and ALL for saving their money at the expence of their VERY GOOD AND GENEROUS FRIENDS AND ANTIENIENT ALLIES. At length they compromised the matter, and made war in parade, as an excellent expedient to save appearances, and to quiet the minds of their own people, that no desperate attempt might be made to call the prince of ORANGE to the office of his ancestors. Those in  
office



office knew that such a step would eclipse that authority, by means of which they had so long lorded it over the state, and enriched themselves and their families.

It is remarkable that our enemies, who knew the orders and inclination of the DUTCH, from a generosity peculiar to soldiers, at the same time they exulted in our credulity, laughed them to scorn. We PULLED them indeed to the scene of action; but we could not PULL the triggers of their muskets, nor secure their horses from being KILLED, if they had engaged.

But what shall we say of the friendship and good intentions of the DUTCH at that time, if to this very day they avow they COULD not fight. Morally considered, nations are not accountable to nations for errors in politics; but they are answerable to each other for the non-observance of treaties. Whatever motives biased the conduct of these republicans, the inference from real fact, cannot but raise an indignation in the breasts of those who are inclined to shed a tear to the manes of our brave countrymen, who fell in that unequal war. If the DUTCH had declared at that time that they WOULD not, or, which is the same, that they COULD not fight, and that their army was only for parade and observation; I presume, in such case, we could complain only of the inactivity of their AUXILIARY troops as stipulated by treaty. And the question is, if, in such cases, the party failing is not subject to all consequences. If this doctrine was proved good, the DUTCH might now owe us fifteen or twenty millions of pounds, with a further debt which they can never pay, the lives of fifteen or twenty thousand of the bravest troops in the world.

What sense the people of HOLLAND had of their engagements to us, appears, in some measure, from their behaviour, when news arrived at the HAGUE of the battle of FONTENOY. It went current that we had deserted the DUTCH, and left them to be cut in pieces; insomuch that the inhabitants were highly incensed, and exclaimed bitterly, as if the ENGLISH had completed that ruin, which our conduct in the QUEEN'S war, they said, had almost produced. When the real fact was known, and the tables turned

on



on them, though it afforded consolation with regard to the safety of their army, the rulers of the STATE thought it necessary for THEIR own safety to retire out of the town: this was a tacit acknowledgment, that however disposed the people might be to push on the war, they themselves favoured the schemes of FRANCE.

To speak dispassionately of the conduct of the DUTCH, we may reflect on their specious manner of reasoning. "Did we desire you," say they, "to make war, much less to bring it to our doors? And, after all, what reliance could we make on you, when a handful of rebels in SCOTLAND occasioned the demand of six thousand of our best troops, at a time when we most needed them ourselves? If other powers do not keep FRANCE within bounds; the UNITED PROVINCES may become an easy conquest, in spite of all your endeavours to preserve us." This excuse carries with it some weight: but they forget that it was their conduct at FONTENOY which brought on those consequences; that their six thousand men were of no use to us with regard to the rebellion; and lastly, that the preservation of the UNITED PROVINCES, in spite of the FRENCH partizans, became at length one great object of the war: there must then be an unaccountable defection in the hearts of DUTCHMEN, to allow this reasoning to be good. The time may not be far off when they will solicit us to act in confederacy with them, and when they will not have any delusive reserves.

The present political contest, if we can with propriety say there is any contest, seems to be, whether, in case of another war, GREAT BRITAIN ought to send her native troops abroad; or confine herself to the water, and make her money, in a reasonable proportion with other princes, fight her battles on the continent?

Happily for EUROPE, FRANCE is not able to support a great army, and a great fleet also, for any length of time. But as we sometimes see national efforts, which baffle all the systems of the most acute politicians; and as FRANCE may make a formidable figure both by land and sea; can we consistently neglect our land-forces? If it is necessary to preserve the independence



pendency of the DUTCH ; it may be also necessary to employ our troops, as well as our money, on the continent. It might be fortunate indeed to establish a system which would render a great land-force unnecessary. If it is inconsistent for us to attempt the support of great armies, and great fleets also, we may presume that GREAT BRITAIN will adhere to the system which renders that force least necessary, which is most expensive.

Embarkations of our land-men may sometimes be necessary for such purposes, as neither our ships nor money can execute without them ; and in behalf of those states whom it is our duty, and may be our obligation by treaty to preserve on the general principle of commercial interest. But where, and in what numbers, seems to be a point which the occasion only can determine. I apprehend one rule of politics cannot suit all times, more than one medicine all distempers.

The sending great armies abroad has been, among others, a means of involving BRITAIN in a very large debt. But it is also true, that FRANCE has been greatly impoverished by her wars. That the latter has made vast acquisitions by commerce within fifty years past, must be granted ; but yet it is disputed if she is now so rich, compared with other STATES, as she was in king WILLIAM's reign : and since money is the sinews of war, we must reckon the strength of STATES by their riches, compared with other STATES, as well as by their numbers, valour, and genius for war.

There are, I believe, some general maxims, which are necessary for every government to adopt, as far as they are practicable without adhering to a blind prejudice. If the naval force of GREAT BRITAIN is her proper and natural strength, considering her situation, produce, and the genius of the people ; will it not follow, that the more of such strength she possesses, in proportion to other STATES, the greater will be her commerce, and consequently her riches ? And if she is strongest at sea, may she not command the source of FRENCH power, which is almost the sole object she has to fear ?



Enquiries after political knowledge soon create difficulties, which suggest that the study of politics is no vulgar task, though we talk of it so familiarly. Ministers, like other men, are sometimes biassed by their passions and prejudices, to commit absurdities; but it is their duty to understand the interest of a nation, and their trade to manage it. Others ought to approve or condemn with moderation, as the surest way to come at the truth, without confounding themselves with the use of NAMES and WORDS, to which their ideas are not adequate.

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### C H A P. LI.

*The author leaves the HAGUE. A description of DELFT. Of ROTTERDAM, its trade, and the BRITISH factory established there. A short account of HELVOET, and the present low state of the DUTCH navy.*

THE 22d of October I left the HAGUE, and returning back part of the way on the same canal on which I came from LEYDEN, I arrived at DELFT in an hour, the distance being only three miles. The land here is low, and there is no particular object that strikes the eye.

DELFT is surrounded by a considerable extent of flat meadow lands: this place, which is very antient, is well known for its earthen ware, which goes by that name. It is a very pleasant town, and well peopled: the inhabitants are computed at above twenty thousand. Its situation has invited several persons of fortune and distinction to take up their habitations there; but the trade of the place is not considerable. It has however a chamber in the EAST-INDIA company, and a rank in the assembly of the STATES of the province of HOLLAND. This city was burnt down in 1536, and in 1654 the greatest part of it was blown up by an accident of the powder-magazine taking fire; but these misfortunes have rather contributed to its beauty, than defects, as may be inferred from its present appearance.

From hence I departed for ROTTERDAM; the distance is hardly seven ENGLISH miles. This place may well be esteemed next in rank to AMSTERDAM; and, in regard to GREAT BRITAIN, and the southern trade  
of



of EUROPE, has many advantages beyond that city: the navigation of the MAESE being, without comparison, more safe and commodious than that of the TEXEL: the air and the water are also better than in AMSTERDAM. The canals here being broad and deep, convey ships of burthen into the heart of the city, and exhibit a view of a flourishing trade. Being thus a rival in commerce to the metropolis, it is considered as an object of some jealousy; but the power is, for the most part, in the hands of the merchants of AMSTERDAM. Many of the commodities imported here center chiefly in that city, consequently the spirit of competition does not rise very high. There is indeed business enough in both cities to furnish employment to a great number of hands.

ROTTERDAM has a further advantage: the passage of the MAESE is generally open, particularly in hard winters, sooner than that of the TEXEL. They have great magazines of EAST-INDIA goods, this city having its quota of that trade. Tobacco, corn, and rice are also considerable articles, and chiefly imported from GREAT BRITAIN: they have great quantities of tallow from IRELAND, for which they return flax, which is a commodity much cultivated in the UNITED PROVINCES, as it will bear a high rent of land, if properly conducted.

In this city is a very good exchange, where the merchants meet, and transact their business; it was finished so late as the year 1736. Here are several public buildings of note; but the most remarkable is the great church dedicated to St. LAWRENCE, in which are the monuments of several persons of distinction, particularly of their most celebrated sea-officers, among whom is that of admiral DE WIT. On the great bridge is a statue of the famous ERASMUS, who was born in 1467 in a small house very near to the statue.

The BRITISH factory in this place is very considerable, and is, for the most part, composed of north BRITONS of the church of SCOTLAND, for which they have a church or meeting-house. During the war in FLANDERS under the duke of MARLBOROUGH, an episcopal church was built by the contribution of the ENGLISH officers, merchants, and



mariners ; and this is said to be the only regular episcopal church countenanced and established, belonging to BRITISH subjects out of GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. DAVISON, and several others of the factors, received me with great marks of regard and politeness, as well in consequence of the several letters of recommendation, which my friends at AMSTERDAM had given me, as the hospitality for which the factory is distinguished. Provisions here are not cheap, though plenty. The factors live parsimoniously, after the manner of the country, without parade, but with great satisfaction and convenience. Expence, noise, and shew, are indeed but the shadows of pleasure, to minds not spoiled by a habit of living in a croud, or in pursuit of trifling amusements. The expence of eating and drinking, IN THE HIGHEST TASTE, as is ordinarily understood, generally serves but to remove us the farther from the happiness we seek. The true end of these supports of nature, is better answered by a little, than much ; by a dish or two, rather than by a multiplicity ; if we consider what is due to health, to a clear understanding, to moderate passions, submissive appetites ; to a virtuous cast of thought, and, in a word, to the true felicity of life.

The 27th I left ROTTERDAM ; the most speedy conveyance is said to be to NEWSLUYS in a yatch, and from thence by land to HELVOET. It was my desire to see the banks of the MAESE, I therefore preferred going all the way by water. There are many fertile and agreeable spots of land, but the whole did not answer the idea I had conceived of DUTCH industry, and knowledge of improvement as extended to every part<sup>b</sup>. HELVOET SLUYS is well known, as the port from whence the HARWICH packet boats set off on wednesdays and saturdays. Though this is esteemed one of the best harbours in the UNITED PROVINCES, yet the town is in itself very inconsiderable, having only three small streets, and a quay ; the last is of some extent, and borders a great part of the harbour. From this place the island of GOREE appears to the south, as a sandy country, and ZEALAND is to the north of it.

\* We must make great allowances, in all countries, with regard to those lands contiguous to the sea.



Having often heard of the naval strength of the UNITED PROVINCES, so formidable at sea within little more than half a century; and as I had hardly seen a ship of war in any other port of these PROVINCES, I entertained some expectation of being agreeably surprized at HELVOET. However all the naval strength which I could discover, amounted only to ten capital ships: these indeed appeared to be clean and in good order, but without any modern improvement in their structure. In this particular the DUTCH are said to be forty years behind the ENGLISH; nor ought we to be surprized, considering how great a decline there has been of DUTCH naval strength. Whether this wondrous change is an effect of unavoidable calamities; or of voluntary national defection from their antient maxims of government, the reader will best judge from the modern accounts of these PROVINCES. It is not one hundred years since the DUTCH were able to vie with ENGLAND; and, towards the close of the last century, even in the time of peace, they thought it their interest to employ between thirty-five and forty ships of war. Upon an emergency they were able to send a hundred sail to sea: it was computed, that the support of thirty capital ships then cost them annually only six millions of guilders<sup>b</sup>. Perhaps the time is not far off when they will be again obliged to fight at sea, as well as by land: but if this power is departed from them, which seems to be the case, and GREAT BRITAIN left to take care of herself, the larger portion of commerce must fall to her share, in order to the support of a greater naval force. This consideration seems to put us in mind of the present situation of GREAT BRITAIN, and the necessity of application to our marine; not only as a counterbalance to the accumulating strength of FRANCE, but as an easy and natural expedient to compensate for the insufficiency of the DUTCH.

I had the pleasure to find here a small squadron, with four yachts, belonging to the crown of GREAT BRITAIN, under the command of lord ANSON, his BRITANNIC majesty being expected to embark in a few days. This sight gave me the more pleasure, as I had not seen a BRITISH ship of war for near eight years before. It also afforded me an opportunity of

<sup>b</sup> 550,000 l. In ENGLAND reckoning five hundred men in each ship, it would be 720,000 l.



seeing some of my old acquaintances, particularly my honoured friend captain EDWARDS, who commanded the CHARLOTTE yacht. I had no time to accept his civilities, as I embarked in the packet a short time after my arrival there.

The packets are built commodiously for passengers, and have about fourteen beds, or cabbins. In these vessels there seems to be a certain degree of equality observed between the officers and men, which slackens the reins of discipline; and perhaps it is from the shortness of the passage, that there is not such a regard to oeconomy, as one would expect where no merchandise are supposed to be carried. They talk much of the dangerous navigation between HELVOET and HARWICH; but at the same time confess, that only one packet has been lost within the compass of any memory. The 28th, after a passage of twenty-two hours, the wind blowing hard from the east, I landed at HARWICH.



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P A R T IV.  
M O R A L and P O L I T I C A L  
R E F L E X I O N S  
In relation to  
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

C H A P. LII.

*Reflexions on the use of travelling. The difficulty of taking up a political faith. Thoughts on public love in a free state. Irreligion the ordinary source of national calamities.*

**T**HANKS to the goodness of providence, I am now returned into this HAPPY ISLAND; happy, in spite of all it's blemishes, compared with any country that I have yet been acquainted with. Perfect happiness most certainly is not the lot of mortals on this side the grave: the portion of bliss, which heaven has granted to this country, like the disorders arising from sanguine health, seems to create a satiety, even in those who have a claim to the reward of virtue; as if we were to learn from hence, that there is yet a better country, whither we are travelling, where only the mind can possess an entire satisfaction.

The passage of a merchant from one country into another, in pursuit of commercial affairs, ought not to be considered in the same light, as the travels of a man of letters, in search of arts or learning: but if in the course of their observation they have supported one common spirit of national affection; in proportion to their advantages of education and natural



tural abilities, the effect will be in a great degree similar. Their own country must necessarily become the dearer to them, according as they discover the superiority it enjoys in laws and government above other nations. Being thus excited by a generous emulation, instead of bringing home the vices of other countries, they will strive to plant the virtues which are more peculiar to foreign climes, and not the proper growth of their own soil.

The ravages of time, the ruins of cities, the desolation of countries, the tyranny of kings, the folly and iniquity of subjects in selling themselves like beasts to the slaughter; with all the pernicious effects of arbitrary power, must, in a serious mind, draw reflexions on the uncertainty of human affairs. By tracing these events, as near as possible to their source, the heart will be lifted up to the great author of nature, and adopt a consistent principle concerning the GENERAL law of his moral government, by observing how vice is ever productive of misery. Though the dispensations of his providence are oftentimes incomprehensible, yet this ought not to weaken a steady persuasion, that virtue is in every region, and under every government, acceptable to him; "THAT WHAT HE DELIGHTS IN MUST BE HAPPY," however the face of things may appear. And to check every fond presumption of independency, though we grasp the fleeting moments, it is but as to-morrow when a curtain will be drawn over all the glories, as well as the miseries of this world. In the mean while, whether we go abroad, or remain at home; enjoy a profusion, or mediocrity of the gifts of providence, we are travelling to another country. Our noblest science, our highest accomplishment, our supreme felicity, is the knowledge and observance of that compass, whose needle points to our proper home; to those regions, where millions of blessed spirits inhabit; where the eye will be satisfied with seeing, the understanding with knowledge, and the heart with delights, of which this world can give but faint ideas.

Whether hackneyed in the paths of gain and ambition; or pursuing the delights of a philosophic and religious cast of thought; life still ebbs out much faster than we can easily discover, or deal fairly enough with



with ourselves to acknowledge. But a day, an hour employed in the exercise of reason, and the practice of religion, is, upon the whole, preferable to an age wasted in foolish pursuits which rise no higher than this world.

The soul is ever active: this world is its scene, as a prelude to the next; some ruling principle will always possess and lead us on to action. To be idle, and to be happy, is a contradiction: but however employed, he has no mean lot who glides through life in tranquil silence, though unobserved. Perhaps he is one of the most happy of men; but all are not capable of this felicity.

We cannot reflect too often, that "True self-love and social are the same;" yet considering man as a unity, SELF must, and ought to predominate. That is best for him which is most productive of his particular happiness, with respect to the scene in which he takes his part; and in which he is best qualified to act with dignity, and with a due regard to both worlds. We are happy only when we are employed, and when some PARTICULAR OBJECT governs the lesser passions and desires. The wise author of nature certainly intended that this OBJECT should be HIMSELF, and that all the various connections of our animal, our social, our intellectual nature, should ultimately terminate in him, and be subservient to this end. Here then let our enquiry rest: and since every day brings eternity the nearer, the contemplation of that eternity ought in all reason to encrease, as our hours are fleeting away. Without neglecting the ordinary course of his affairs, the merchant who is wise, will apply most vigilantly to that business in which his whole fortune is embarked.

As the peculiar happiness of this government leads every thinking subject to disclose freely his sentiments, as far as he may judge them conducive to the national welfare, may I finish my book with some indulgence of this sort? But in speaking of public affairs, the mind ought, in a more peculiar manner, to be divested of all prepossession, or it can answer no end but to adopt or confirm a principle, which, though true, loses its charms by being founded in prejudice. If the pursuit of wisdom



dom and virtue is the proper business of life, we ought to examine before we pronounce sentence; and always to be diffident where we have not had opportunities of knowledge. I am very sensible that even general reflexions on political interest, belong to those who are grown grey in experience, rather than for transient spectators.

The knowledge which I have of my own country being acquired abroad, and very limited, the affairs of it now appear to me in a great measure as matter of enquiry and curiosity, as well as interest. Things ever strike us most while they are most new: the indulgent reader may consider me yet as a traveller, who gives his thoughts of things as their novelty, their variety, or their singularity affect him; with some distinction however in regard to the motive, as well as some previous knowledge derived from the early impressions of youth.

It is the happiness of a free state, directed by good laws, that every member belonging to it is entitled to protection, so long as he obeys those laws. The dignity he derives from hence raises him in his own esteem: this is apt to render him inquisitive in matters of which he is not qualified to judge, and is the cause of infinite follies. Even those who are bred up in the knowledge of national affairs in ENGLAND, are generally swayed by their prejudices in favour of some person or party; in the mean while the number of the judicious and unprejudiced is so small, that a man has hardly any opportunity of learning how to settle his mind.

How can it be imagined in an age in which corruption abounds, not in ENGLAND only, but in every country, that only virtuous men should be in office? To rail at them, without considering the corruption of mankind in general, must render the complainant suspected of discontent, because he is not in office himself. When the influence of the crown preponderates, and the measures which are pursued do not immediately produce all the good we fondly expected; the subjects who do not receive any PECUNIARY ADVANTAGES from the government, for others have generally the wit to hold their tongues, are apt to cry out against the court, or against the minister, forgetting that the true

' source



source of national calamities, in a free state, is the venality and impiety of the people.

It must be apparent to men who make any observations, that those who bellowed loud for liberty, and were impatient to pull down those in power, have generally given the same offence themselves, when they became vested with authority; whence it has been natural to conclude, that the people were capricious, and not capable of contentment, or, with some few exceptions, all equally corrupt; and changed their principles, or their conduct, with their outward condition.

Be this as it may, it is surprising to me how little the people of this island generally seem to know of their own advantages and happiness. Complaints are so often the subject of discourse, even among the more sober part, that one would imagine the state was under the greatest distress, and in imminent danger of ruin. “How great, say they, are the emoluments  
“of offices, and how little is done for them! vanity and ambition, and a  
“devotion to luxury, reign in the breasts of THOUSANDS; and the robbery of their country by every base artifice, is either openly countenanced and protected, or connived at and left unpunished; whilst the freedom established in the original plan of this government, exists in little  
“more than a name. To one person who even pretends to love his  
“country, there are a hundred who are cherished, if not openly applauded, by their friends or confederates, in consequence of their fortune or  
“address in pillaging the public. The way of doing this with dexterity  
“and address, is a science of the most profitable kind. Shall we draw a  
“curtain over our nakedness, and hide our shame? Alas it is too apparent to be an object of concealment! Foreigners see it, and will condemn us till they perceive a change in our condition, by the exertion of  
“national virtue. And what satisfaction ought it to afford us, if other nations are more vain and abandoned than this? Do we desire to put on  
“the same kind of chains as they wear, and with all the advantages of  
“our glorious constitution become yet more wretched than they? Things  
“are come to that pass, that if this nation does exist, it must first fall a  
“sacrifice to venality, and rise again out of its own ashes. Are we not



“ eighty millions in debt, and consequently is not our credit plunged deep ?  
“ We are threatened with a war in a few years, but what measures are  
“ taken to reduce that debt, and enable us to support a war ? ’Tis hard to  
“ say what all this will come to. Observe the conduct of some men of  
“ the greatest quality in the kingdom ; persons who in MANY respects are  
“ worthy of great honour and esteem ; their rank and fortune set them in  
“ a point of view to make their examples of the greatest moment ; and  
“ YET these men indulge themselves in a passion for GAMING, in viola-  
“ tion of those very laws they made themselves, and by which the state  
“ is to be supported. What can afford more delight to an ambitious  
“ FRENCHMAN, than to see such men promote a contempt of our  
“ own laws by the weight of their example ? If the GREAT amuse  
“ themselves with unlawful games, the LOWER CLASSES of the people  
“ will have THEIRS also, and the breach of laws must terminate in our  
“ SHAME, OUR DISHONOUR, OUR DECLINE, OUR RUIN. Nor will our  
“ seeming affluence avail us, if by gradations of splendid infamy, our  
“ very leaders conduct us into that slavery, under which almost every na-  
“ tion of the world already mourns.”

Now what impressions ought a man to receive upon hearing such sort of complaints ? Are they true in the whole, or in part ? Are they the effects of PARTY ZEAL, of PREJUDICE, of a natural propensity in the people of this country to murmur, notwithstanding ALL the GOOD they enjoy ; or a want of that very national love which is the subject of complaint ; or in short, is it a compound of all these ? Under our present circumstances, and the riches and liberty which we really enjoy, complaints can mean no more nor less than this ; that we are become so weak as not to discern our own interest, or so vicious as not to regard it any further than the present momentary gratification. If this be true in any degree, the evil is rather increased than diminished by such liberal complaints. Some may talk in this manner, from an honest resentment of national vices ; yet it is to be doubted, whether their resentment is not blended with a share of that very immorality which is the subject of complaint. That we possess a great deal of virtue is as clear as that we are a free people.

But



But that we have not virtue enough to be so formidable, or secure as providence seems to invite us to be, is the complaint of those who wish well to their country : perhaps it is equally true also ; though it cannot be demonstrated so easily as presumed. Surely it is a fault to indulge ourselves in complaints at a venture, and to fling at men in public life, though we are tender of private characters.

If to rob a nation by collusive or injurious practices, is an atrocious crime, with what consistency can we believe that those who pass for honest men have been guilty of it ? We certainly ought to be tender in our accusations of this kind. Credulity does not argue any strength of judgment : the virtue of the mind ever rises or falls, with the charity which we cherish or suppress.

To consider things and persons according to the common sense and reason of mankind, " There are few, very few, says a great author<sup>c</sup>, who " have the OPPORTUNITY, and the WILL, and the ABILITY to represent things TRULY. Beside the matters of fact themselves, there are " many CIRCUMSTANCES which before sentence is past, ought to be " known and weighed, and yet scarce ever CAN be known but to the person HIMSELF who is concerned. He may have other views, and another sense of things than his judges have ; and what he UNDERSTANDS, " what he FEELS, what he INTENDS, may be a secret confined to his " own breast." If this is generally true in common life, it must often hold, with regard to those who are charged with the GOVERNMENT OF A NATION : their task requires GREAT labour and abilities ; and proper allowance must be made for the imperfections of human nature, especially with regard to the fallacies of men's judgments. Hence if we ought to be slow in believing injuriously of mankind in general on the authority of dubious reports, or by opinions drawn from consequences, without regard to the motives of action : by the calumnious echo of words against men in high office, we are very subject to err with regard to our morals, as well as our judgment. If our complaints prevent that unanimity on

<sup>c</sup> WOOLASTON on the religion of nature.



which the good of every state depends, we may imagine ourselves to be patriots, and yet do an injury to our country.

In private life, a disposition inclined to the submissive, is not that which makes the greatest eclat ; but it certainly is most agreeable to the dignity of human nature, because it was practised by HIM who was the great pattern of human perfection. In spite then of the suggestions of pride, this rule of conduct must be the most amiable. In order to be free, is it necessary to be querulous or turbulent ? Freedom must arise from a steady, even principle, a determined resolution not to offend against our own minds, or, in other words, to adhere to what is right. To this we may add vigilance and care in our respective stations, that those who are our immediate guardians take no steps destructive of our safety.

Our compassion for HUMAN INFIRMITIES, is generally in proportion to the degree of knowledge we have of HUMAN NATURE. This consideration in GOOD MINDS, will check the spirit of national complaint upon trivial evidence, and consequently restore a greater national virtue. If those hours spent in political satyr, were applied to the cultivation of knowledge and virtue, even granting there is frequent occasion of complaint, what good might we not expect ? Among the lower classes of the people, COMPLAINTS are seldom without great ignorance ; and those of the higher rank generally include a secret desire of the emoluments possessed by the very persons who are the subjects of such COMPLAINTS. And of whom should we complain, but of ourselves ? What is our boasted constitution ? What our darling liberty, but that we cannot be ruined without our own consent ? Was the making complaints the characteristic of virtue, we should then be our own panegyrists ; but still they would answer little purpose till we brought that virtue into action. One vigorous and well concerted remonstrance of a real evil, must be ever more effectual than a thousand vague complaints.

If we consider that this is a mixed government, and that the parts of which it is composed are numerous, we may indulge a jealousy ;  
but



but hard words can be warrantable only when the iniquity is flagrant. Let us call to mind the advantages we enjoy above any people in the world, and that the flaws in some characters and dispositions, are hid by the lustre of those virtues and talents which shine forth in others. If we ever looked to our OWN rather than to our NEIGHBOURS faults, the state would CERTAINLY be the better; for nothing is more plain than this, that every individual, who governs his life by the rules of right reason, contributes to the government of the kingdom. We all know that government must be maintained, power must be lodged somewhere. We know that we enjoy liberty; those who doubt whether we are free or not, certainly do not know what slavery is.

The spirit of contest in the different branches of the legislative body of this island, seems to subside; and yet it is remarkable, that the words "public debt" are no sooner mentioned, than the people start, as if they saw an apparition: talk of obedience to the laws, and they shake their heads and cry, "Alas, the laws are trampled upon." If this repose means an union of councils, it is a happy circumstance with regard to the DEBT, as well as to that libertinism against which we have reason to complain. It cannot be presumed that such an union will decline into a supine negligence, much less be employed to distress the state.

It may be observed further, that many of the people of this ISLAND, who have high notions of liberty, are offended at the name and power of a FIRST MINISTER, as one of the great officers of the state is generally called. They figure to themselves that his power is very extensive; and, from an observation of the strong connexions between his OFFICE and their own representatives, imagine that he may do WHATEVER HE PLEASES: but as, in fact, he DOES NOT every thing they think is right; they conclude immediately, that he is omiffive in his duty; pursues the gratifications of his own ambition; and therefore his power tends rather to destroy, than support the common-wealth.

Opinions taken up in a hurry, and with prejudices, are hardly ever just, with regard to persons, or things. A minister, who should happen to be  
a man



a man of very great parts, and very great dissimulation and ambition, is indeed an object of JEALOUSY; but if the people are true to themselves, how can such a man support himself in his power? We must be the instruments of our own ruin whenever that happens. But, on the other hand, let us consider this office in the hands of a man, who means well, whose ambition is apparently limited, and whose private character has nothing dangerous in it; and he will appear as necessary, as he is a valuable subject. Liberty, in the highest sense, has been ideal ever since the crime of our first parents, we can only preserve such a portion of it as we justly dignify by that venerable name. To prevent perplexities in the councils of a nation, and irresolution in the conduct of government, it is become necessary in some measure that there should be, as I believe there is, in almost every department of the government, a person whom they call a LEADING MAN. This seems to be the natural effect of superior talents, or superior industry; some distinguished power of doing good, or at least a reputation of integrity and disinterestedness: these men are not however the lords, but the servants of the public; and so long as they behave with moderation, and in the general tenor of their conduct, act with a view to the good of society, though with some imperfections, ought they not to be considered as useful, and even as essential to the well being of the state? Thus the matter will rest on the degree of vice or imperfection, that should render a minister odious or disagreeable; and in our estimate of such defects, we must compare MEN with MEN, and not with angels.

With regard to the legislative body of this nation, the first minister, for this is the term that all parties adopt, I presume is a kind of representative on behalf of the regal prerogative, and his office as such is understood to reconcile the difficulties that may occur concerning the interests and inclinations of the sovereign and his subjects. How any particular man arrives at this office, is as easy to comprehend, as that kings, like other men, chuse such instruments for their purposes as they think best; and sometimes they chuse with great propriety. If there was no such person FOR the crown, it seems as if there would be one AGAINST it; and  
might



might not HE hurt the constitution yet more, since it is a principle established, that the state must be supported by MONARCHICAL, though limited POWER?

All periods of time produce a numerous train of discontented subjects, some WITH, and many more WITHOUT reason. Partiality to our own faults is apt to make us ascribe the evils we suffer, real or imaginary, to any cause, rather than to our own vices and imperfections. The comparison of characters renders them odious or amiable; but we ought not, I think, to judge from a few choice spirits, but consider what is the general turn of a people.

LIBERTY, national honour, or whatever idea of moral excellence charms us, never DID, nor never CAN exist long without virtue. Virtue is the only stable foundation on which the happiness of a private man, a family, or a nation CAN be built. The experience of all ages proves, that every refinement foreign to this motive, must ultimately terminate in ruin. Vice may reign for a season; but the supreme governor of the world will vindicate his authority: and though this does not always happen within the short compass of human life, yet NATIONAL vices have been ever corrected by NATIONAL calamities, and I presume ever will be so. It cannot possibly be otherwise in the nature of things; for if there is a GOD who governs the world, with respect to men religion must be the rule of that government. The coercive power of human legislatures can no more support a state without the superior law of religion, than due order can be maintained where the judge is as corrupt as the criminal, or the father as vicious as his offending son. The history of the world proves this assertion, and I believe it is generally found true, that some evils which happen to the body politic, have a great analogy with wounds in the natural body; that is, that they prove extremely difficult to cure when the habit is bad, though they might otherwise be easily healed.

True politics are undoubtedly built on true religion: a nation long accustomed to be governed by laws founded in reason, and a defence of the rights of mankind, cannot submit to any other, without the convulsive



vulvive pangs of expiring liberty. But it is as easy to conceive that any state may be dissolved by the immorality of the people, as that there are countries, which having once been free, now groan under arbitrary power. Let the miseries of such countries be truly known, and a free nation will tremble at every act of injustice that may produce them. What avails the superiority of this constitution, if the virtue in which it is founded, does not continue to support its influence? The notion of liberty would only serve to delude us with an imaginary phantom; the real excellency of it MUST ever be connected with the hearts and minds of the people corresponding with the laws; their knowledge and riches being only means subservient to its support.

Were we to lose our VIRTUE, in the strictest sense, we must lose our liberty also. The arbitrary power which prevails in some other nation, would be a compulsive means of employing their strength to our ruin; whilst our freedom of withholding our assistance in support of the commonwealth, might, by our acting contrary to the apparent designs of providence, prepare an easier way to their conquest, if we did not fall by our own hands. In proportion to the disobedience of laws, divine or human, by the observance of which the constitution has been so long and so happily supported, it must tend to its dissolution; for the contrary of that which set it up must throw it down again. I think nothing can be more demonstrable than this; if LIBERTINISM is carried to a certain degree, the COERCIVE power must become ARBITRARY, in the rigid sense of that word. A nation which has not virtue enough to be ruled by the laws of reason, must submit to military force, as is now the case of much the greatest part of the world. Thus LIBERTY ceases, and when that is gone, it is no impropriety to say the nation is UNDONE. Has ever so formidable a state as this fallen but under the weight of its own vices? Great monarchies have been dissolved only by great corruption and civil discord; so that the Almighty has certainly annexed temporal felicities to nations, as well as eternal rewards to men, in consequence of their virtue.

I hope



I hope this nation will continue great and happy, till TIME shall end his reign; but if the inscrutable wisdom of providence has ordained the period of BRITISH happiness to draw to an end, by any rule of his government of which we have no experience, we must submit to the decrees of heaven: but as it will ever be in our power, I am sure it ought to be in our choice, to welcome an HONOURABLE DEATH, rather than INGLORIOUS CHAINS. If we DO fall, our hearts ought to bleed as victims to liberty and virtue.

The name of a free state has something divine lodged in it: whilst EVERY ONE is solicitous to preserve EVERY ONE, they perform the office of a guardian angel. On the other hand, where public spirit ceases to prevail in the minds of a people; how can they long subsist in that state without arbitrary power? The notion of a public spirit cannot be confined; its object is ages past, and it looks forward to the verge of time. We have no certainty how long the world will last, and little can we presume on the existence of a particular nation, however wise the government of it may be: but how much greater is the probability of that existence than of the duration of any particular man's life? Man, as considered separate from the community, is in the most emphatical sense "a thing of nought, his time" "passes away like a shadow:" but with regard to the duties of society he not only exists as long as TIME, but is partaker of a glorious immortality.

What constitutes the greatness or goodness of a man but his regard to the society? or why is a prince called GOOD, and his people ready to offer themselves as VICTIMS for his safety, but as he honours, loves, and respects the community of which he professes to be the guardian?

The present and future happiness of individuals, as well as the felicity of the state, are all intimately dependent on each other. True politeness is but humanity refined, which ultimately centers in CHARITY; PUBLIC LOVE is but the same CHARITY adapted to the dignity and prosperity of the community of which we are members. A free government is moreover the state of nature, with regard to the equality of men



and their common rights: PUBLIC LOVE cannot be separated from the idea of such a state; and as the notion of this love implies a desire of the virtue and TEMPORAL felicity of men, it is analogous with that charity which the ALMIGHTY has appointed as the GREAT RULE of conduct, and WITHOUT WHICH he has given mankind no title to ETERNAL happiness.

The liberty for which we pretend to be ready to die, necessarily includes the love of posterity; but an immoderate tenderness of ourselves, on the NARROW PRINCIPLE of a vicious self love, is injurious to posterity. Upon this NARROW PRINCIPLE it is, that we do not consent to a small change of our manner of life, that would enable us to support the state in greater safety, reputation, and splendor. Without a submission to some acts of self-denial; we can neither be politically nor morally virtuous; we cannot support such an equality of strength, nor such a consistency of conduct, as are essential to the maintenance of so admirable a constitution as ours; nor be enabled to guard against the over-bearing insolence and superior numbers of our enemies. It must needs be, that either we are not aware of the end of the course we run; or we do not mean what we say, when we talk of spilling our blood in the cause of liberty. If the former, we only want consideration: If the latter, we want EVERY THING for which life ought to be desirable.

It is a very familiar, but no less just thought, which we find in a late celebrated writer <sup>a</sup>, in allusion to the present state of things in this ISLAND. There have been times of much greater danger than the present; yet if we consider what the ordinary consequences of human actions are, and by what means nations, yet more formidable than this, have come to ruin, we shall understand the force of what the author has remarked: "From their <sup>b</sup> railleries, on the barbarity and misery of our " ISLAND, one cannot help reflecting on the surprizing fate and revolution of kingdoms: how ROME, once the mistress of the world, the seat " of arts, empire, and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance, and pover-

<sup>a</sup> Dr. MIDDLETON's life of CICERO.

<sup>b</sup> Meaning the antient ROMANS.



“ ty ; enslaved to the most cruel, as well as to the most contemptible of  
 “ tyrants, superstition, and religious imposture ; whilst this remote country,  
 “ antiently the jest and contempt of the polite ROMANS, is become the  
 “ happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters, flourishing in all the arts and  
 “ refinements of civil life ; yet running perhaps the same course, which  
 “ ROME itself had run before it ; from virtuous industry to wealth, from  
 “ wealth to luxury, from luxury to an impatience of discipline and corrup-  
 “ tion of morals ; till, by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being  
 “ grown ripe for destruction, it fall a prey at last to some hardy oppres-  
 “ sor ; and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valu-  
 “ able, sink gradually again into it's original barbarism.”

Human nature being ever the same, to form a just idea of things, we must trace them to their fountain. Self-preservation is the first and strongest law in nature. What is our duty in obedience to this law ? We know that a nation is composed of many individuals, who have one common interest ; that the different ranks, employments, and circumstances of a people, are only means essential to the support of the public ; and that every condition of life has its peculiar happiness, as well as misery. Providence has been indulgent to us all ; do we move on this great plan, and according to the orders of that providence ? Do we not rather vie with each other, not who shall be wisest, but who shall excel most in vanities and expensive follies ; and thus deviating from the great principle laid down, at least, PREPARE a way for ruin ?

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### C H A P. LIII.

*The prevalency of example. The great riches and advantages which this ISLAND enjoys. A militia proper as the guard of these national blessings.*

IT is a general, and perhaps just complaint, that whilst we aim at imaginary perfection in theory, our real conduct falls short of the virtue that is practicable, and within our reach. Superior opportunities of know-



ledge ought to produce superior degrees of virtue : and can it be expected, that the lower classes of the people will be virtuous, whilst the higher neglect to instruct them by their example ? The reformation of manners called for by one part of the nation, and universally acknowledged to be necessary, must then be most countenanced by persons in the most eminent life ; a gradation to the lower classes will be easy and familiar.

Under the laws and the sovereign, persons of high rank and great fortunes are the parents and guardians of the people : in their hands more immediately is deposited that glorious plan which our great ancestors have transmitted to us : if THEY are not careful to preserve it from violation, what are we to expect from the DREGS of the people ?

Custom and imitation generally prescribe and support the rule of men's conduct ; and what have been the consequences of the modern custom of following a CONTINUED ROUND of amusements by persons of distinction of both sexes, but idleness and vice of every denomination among the lower class ? The present fashionable manner of life, to minds yet unformed, must, in the very nature of things, enervate that firm and serious cast of thought, which is the true source of virtue and public love. When the soberer duties of life become as things accidental, and which we have no inclination to attend to, it ought not to be expected, that the interest of the community will be regarded. If the duty we owe to one private family be irksome, what must be the consideration of that which we owe to a million of families ? If religion is the true foundation of virtue in question ; will it not startle us to think of the inconsiderable number of opulent families in this ISLAND, that inculcate the FEAR OF GOD in the minds of their numerous dependents, as a principle essential to the well-being of the state ?

Heaven has been indulgent to men, by endowing them with an imitative faculty ; though our perverseness often converts that faculty into a curse. Example can certainly make saints or devils ; and every day's observation must convince us, that there is a generous pride in human nature, which perpetually carries us to worthy actions when the  
the



the pattern is set before our eyes: especially if by a skilful conduct it is brought down to the level of our comprehensions. Nothing can strike more forcibly on the minds of the lower orders of men, than the personal attention, and religious, as well as humane conduct of the rich, the wise, the noble, in that vast scene of action, the public good. It is this which affords infinite entertainment to the different dispositions and capacities of men, particularly of those whom providence, by a liberal indulgence, has, in a more peculiar manner, appointed for this great work. The measures of compulsion, in a free state, cannot, in all respects, quadrate with the minds of the common people, more than with persons in high life. Public love, so little understood in arbitrary governments, must be a free effort of the mind, and brought into action by the force of a virtuous example.

It is undoubtedly true, in the present state of mankind, that the pure dictates of reason and religion are insufficient to the support of any state, without the coercive power of human laws; the assistance of those laws must be frequently called in; and happy is that people, who are obedient to them; but still example will never lose its force, whilst human nature continues the same.

I have often heard this nation described, as a country where no-body<sup>a</sup> regards the laws. Whatever degree of truth there may be in this harsh imputation, it is certain that numbers are obliged to submit to them; or the gallows would not exhibit so frequent and so hideous a spectacle! How ought we to endeavour, by every art of EXAMPLE and PERSUASION, to do that which EXPERIENCE evinces cannot be effected by FORCE?

It is really amazing to consider, how much the lower classes of the people are TAUGHT to break the laws of this country. The fact is, that the end proposed by many of the laws is continually defeated; and that by means

<sup>a</sup> The conduct of some of our people has sometimes brought to my memory a conversation of no antient date, between a certain person of distinction and a POLISH lord; the latter maintained that the POLES enjoyed the most liberty of any people in the world, and might be properly denominated the only free nation: the other replied, that he knew a people superior to the POLES, meaning the KHALMUCKS; for, says he, these may not only kill, but also eat one another.



SO REFINED, that, one would imagine, here were people, who make the evasion of laws a regular study, and in which they acquire a greater proficiency, than others in making laws. Is it the excellency or defect of this constitution, that the legislature is so tender, in punishing offenders for base subterfuges and equivocations, in regard to the laws?

In consequence of the common people being thus TAUGHT the ART of violating laws, liberty is frequently converted into licentiousness, or at least a neglect of that conduct which the laws require for the GOOD of the WHOLE COMMUNITY. Whatever they do not find for their PRIVATE CONVENIENCE, they are apt to think a violation of their freedom. Thus they neglect the cultivation and improvement of their manners; and hence it follows that foreigners are apt to observe, that the LIBERTY of ENGLAND is confined to those who have no property<sup>b</sup>.

To trace these lesser evils to their source, we shall find they arise from others, which are of greater moment, but pass uncorrected. Can the artful defeat of the intention of the legislature be a subject of wonder, when the informer is held, in some degree, infamous: here also the want of example seems to threaten us. Informations have, no doubt, been often prostituted to villainous purposes; hence the common people, who have no immediate share in making laws, adopt it as a kind of principle of honour to conceal the transgression of them<sup>c</sup>. Men of edu-

<sup>b</sup> I remember the story of an ENGLISH gentleman, who, being just come from PARIS, complained loudly of the insolence of the footmen in LONDON, and wished to see some of them pulled from behind their master's coaches. His father, who was a MASTER of the GREAT SCIENCE of liberty, reproved him, by observing, that though it was true, many of these men were very insolent, this abuse ought to be regarded as a natural effect of liberty in vulgar minds; that the remedy of this might be worse than the disease; for the authority which should extend to pull the footman from BEHIND the coach for such offences, might also pull the master OUT of it. In opposition to this instance of abused liberty, what shall we say of the insolence of arbitrary power, where servants partake of the authority of their masters, and even in so polite a city as PARIS, men in high rank and office seem to delegate a kind of arbitrary power to their domestics; and perhaps the footmen there are frequently more insolent than those of LONDON.

<sup>c</sup> What false notions of honour prevail in some countries, even among the better sort of people! I have been told in PORTUGAL, that, if the murderer of the father has taken shelter under the roof of the son, he thinks himself bound in honour, if not to protect him, to screen him from justice, till he is safely removed from such house which has been thus chosen as an asylum.



cation and sentiment see the absurdity of this proceeding : they know that, next to the law-giver, the most valuable member of the community is HE, who executes the laws with justice ; and that HE, who, upon a principle of public love, will not be an idle spectator of the breach of them, comes in for the NEXT share of honour. But whether it is from a jealousy, that he who is charged with the execution of the laws will not perform his DUTY ; or from a dastardly fear of the resentment of those who transgress ; how rare is it to hear of any information being lodged by a gentleman, though he is always supposed the best judge of the propriety of such complaints, and his veracity most to be depended on ?

Happy is it for us, that, if we will not exert ourselves in setting good example, we are restrained in some polite mischiefs ! MEASURES are taken to fix some bounds to idleness and dissipation at least in that part of the day<sup>f</sup>, which in all ages, and in all civilized countries in the world, has been ever devoted to instruction, to domestic oeconomy, and all the various duties of sober life. It ought to be presumed, that even the young and gay, will cheerfully submit to so salutary a law.

It is some consolation also to reflect, that our deviations from virtue are not constant, we sympathize with the inequality of our climate ; so that supposing virtue at present to be in no great veneration, it may become fashionable again. Nor ought the most serious to imagine, that we are without a large portion of it. To believe the contrary, is not only an injustice with regard to the people at large, but it would also weaken the cause of virtue, by misrepresenting the strength of her forces.

If the motives derived from the fear of national punishment, do not inspire us with a higher sense of public love, yet we can never forget the pleasures and advantages we enjoy. We ought to make these a motive to gratitude, so as to produce the same effect. Look round, and survey the noble structures ; and the profusion of their useful, their magnificent, their superb appendages in this great metropolis. Consider the flourishing state of eve-

<sup>f</sup> Act for preventing houses of diversion being opened till five in the evening.



ry branch of learning, art, and science. Let us send our thoughts abroad to the numerous regions of the earth, to which our commerce is extended, and from whence such sources of wealth flow in upon us. Let us consider what an encrease of riches our AMERICAN colonies produce, which is so much the more valuable, as it is more independent of the politics of other nations. But, above all, let us contemplate the beautiful face of this ISLAND, and the various delights it affords: the noble fabrics, with the several proud monuments of antiquity, in almost every part of ENGLAND: gardens unequalled by any in the world; mines rich in fuel and useful metals; hills and vallies, rivers and seas, all conspiring to render us rich and happy. The ALMIGHTY seems to have made choice of this ISLAND as the great granary of EUROPE and AMERICA<sup>e</sup>. He has enabled us also to befriend mankind, in cloathing them in every quarter of the globe. Our wool is computed to near twelve millions when manufactured; this is four times the revenues of one of the greatest empires<sup>f</sup> in the world, and which now seems to hold the balance of EUROPEAN power.

But when we consider the admirable laws to which we are subject, the good government we are under, and the pure religion we profess, can we forbear exulting in the thought of being born members of such a community, or sending up our prayers in incense of gratitude, and begging that generations yet unborn may enjoy all these good things? Shall we however presume to ASK this blessing; and at the same time INDULGE a

<sup>e</sup> I am not rightly acquainted with the computation of our growth of corn. The bounty allowed by Parliament in one year amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds at five shillings a quarter, which is one hundred and twenty eight thousand tuns exported in one species of grain only. Some late political remarks in relation to taking off the bounty are much laboured upon this principle, that it makes bread, and consequently labour, dearer; but there is not a word mentioned of the industry it has been the cause of promoting; of the improvement of the lands, nor that the cheaper we sell our bread, like other commodities, the greater will be the demand abroad; and lastly, that the price of labour, though great, might not be lowered to the benefit of the nation. It may perhaps prove more than is necessary; but it is a fact, that, among the manufacturers, they do much the least work when provisions are cheapest, and consequently were provisions cheaper, the end is defeated. Be this as it may, I am persuaded, that if the national account was stated with regard to the bounty on corn, we should find ourselves very considerable gainers by this public expence.

<sup>f</sup> RUSSIA.



conduct derogatory to religion, and repugnant to these laws? With what consistency CAN we ask it, whilst we know that immorality has subverted monarchies through all ages of the world? It must then be presumed upon the whole, that every subject will stand self-condemned, or shun those actions which tend to hurt the community of which he is himself a member; and, as far as in his power, promote the general good. Thus he will encrease his own felicity, and whilst the scene of his temporal joys is enlarged, it will naturally be attended with a firm persuasion of a glorious immortality.

There is yet one reflection which flows from a general view of our circumstances. Nothing can be held without certain conditions of tenure: happily for mankind, nations are generally apt to think more highly of themselves than of others; and in that opinion they might remain self-satisfied, if the other passions were at rest; but that seldom happens. A people distinguished among the nations of the earth, must expect to be the occasional object of envy, if not of ambition. We are led both by reason and experience to know that these passions are the chief motives of war; and that they do in fact produce wars almost periodically. It is not the politics of this nation to attempt the conquest of any country in EUROPE; and the waters which surround us are a great security against invasion. But do the same reason and experience teach us, that this just system of politics, or even that the waters and our ships are so secure a safeguard, under the several accidents to which naval affairs are subject, as the liberty and riches of this nation, or, in other words, the just esteem we ought to have for ourselves, demand? If they are not, we seem to need a militia.

Providence, within a short period, confounded a formidable attempt against us: we might have defeated that attempt in the ordinary course of things; but if one expedient had failed, we should, methinks, have another at hand, on which we might make a reliance. I hope we have virtue enough left, to trust ourselves with arms: it is high time to reform, if we have not. We cannot indeed support a very large army, nor is it deemed



proper we should. At the same time experience proves, that the friendship of other nations is not to be relied on; and that princes seldom do any thing for each other but upon mercenary principles. We are in the neighbourhood of a formidable power, and know their temper and disposition. Could we be sure of foreign succours upon any extremity, would it be proper to trust to the courage, or strength, or honesty of such soldiers, to fight our battles at our own doors; when property, religion, and even liberty might be at stake? And if such an ally were able to protect us, there could be no solid security against his exacting what conditions he pleased for the defence he had afforded? History, I believe, furnishes us with reasons to be jealous of foreign forces in this island.

If it is power which governs states; if no compact, or law, except the law of arms, can ordinarily answer the events which happen to nations in consequence of invasions and wars; if monarchies, humanly speaking, stand on this foundation; should we not adapt our strength, in some measure, to the worth of the object to be defended? If men were more in a state of nature, nations would suffer each other to be at rest. But I am afraid the golden age never existed since the FALL, though some nations in the world, from their virtue, their situation, and the genius of their neighbours, may have enjoyed, for ages, an uninterrupted peace. In the present condition of EUROPE, and the corruption of mankind, what state can long promise itself that happiness? The depravity of its inhabitants will not permit it. All we can do is to live as if we desired peace; but were neither afraid of war, nor unable to bear the inconveniences which attend it; least of all should we be unprepared for self-defence.

Numerous armies are every where kept up on the continent: there are also few places of any moment, but what are well fortified. If we HAVE a sufficient bulwark by means of our ships, it is certainly better to learn how to use the shuttle and plowshare, than the sword; but if our ships are NOT sufficient to put us entirely on an equality, or render us superior in strength to other princes, there is, at least there seems to be, something wanting to our security. Perhaps it will be our fortune to make war  
again



again upon the continent; a militia, were it well ordered, could in such case, be no unhappy appendage to those advantages which nature has so liberally bestowed on this island. However the notion may be exploded concerning FRANCE's aspiring at universal monarchy, it is, I believe, undenied, that the genius of that people ever leads them to military exploits: this does not promise any good to themselves or to mankind in general, but so it is: they are bred to arms, and delight in them: they are active, enterprising, and never long at rest. How often have they lost fifty or an hundred thousand men in pursuit of a point, which, if obtained, could be of no consequence to the happiness of the people of FRANCE? Besides, their desire of conquest for the glory of their monarch<sup>c</sup>, or, in other words, for their own vanity, however a fantastic a principle it may be, is generally as strong on their minds, as the jealous care of securing our liberty, is, and ought to be, among us.

But granting that a militia, such as would be essentially serviceable, might be attended with some inconveniences: it may still be asked, is this island in a state of proper defence? If it is, it seems reasonable to think we are best as we are; if it is not, there is one common interest, abstracted from all the low principles of contending parties, which calls on us to rectify this part of our œconomy.

Nations have been undone by indolence; and by their ignorance of the use of arms, as well as for want of courage. If gentlemen of property, mechanics, or men bred to and supported by labour and every honest art of industry, were taught how to defend their own houses against a foreign enemy, if such should dare invade the island, surely they could be no objects of jealousy or fear to the nation. Should we be so lost to all sense of duty to ourselves, as to employ the means of our SECURITY to our OWN DESTRUCTION? Such must every attempt be deemed which is injurious to the present family on the throne, or to the present constitution: but if the interest of the sovereign and his people are the same, that which will

<sup>c</sup> This notion at present seems to be languid, but must necessarily revive whenever their king becomes popular, unless they change their genius and government.



secure their interest, must establish his also. There is reason enough to think that in the case before us, the crown is as much interested as the people. But it seems to have been the peculiar unhappiness of this nation, to entertain jealousies on this subject, sometimes without reason, and, what is worse, sometimes with reason. It may be hoped for the future no cause will be given for suspicions, which prepare the way for national evils. There have been men, whose conduct no lover of his country can mention without sorrow, men who tired of their own happiness, and regardless of the general good, chose to run the greatest risk of being miserable, out of a wanton desire of change. And are there yet remaining such persons, whose secret inclinations are the cause of obstructing those measures which the wisdom of the government might otherwise think necessary to our present security, or to that of posterity?

The safety of nations, under providence, is their vigilance, and care in providing themselves with that which experience proves to be most essential to their defence, that is, money, and men inured to toil and discipline. The genius of the BRITISH nation is military, yet it seems as if ease and plenty had rendered us in some respects averse to arms, and that we have more occasion for a spur than a bridle. But it is confessed that we make a brave figure in fighting abroad, for our friends, should not we at least LEARN how to fight for ourselves, when much more may be at stake.

Many of the officers of our army are not only persons of the first quality, but men of the greatest bravery and sense of honour. There are some of considerable property; and it seems to be an indignity to suppose that the bulk of them do not understand the duty they owe their country, for the advantages they enjoy as members of the community, abstracted from their pay as officers. Our common soldiers also, loose and immoral as they are, possess a certain innate humanity, inseparable from that courage by which they have always distinguished themselves. Is there any fear that such an army can be prostituted to any vile purpose, whilst the land is ruled by a just and worthy prince?

A standing



A standing army, such as the revenues of the state can bear, according to the present appearances of things, seems necessary even now in time of peace, not to awe the people, but for the dignity of the crown; to give it a necessary weight, and to provide for war; especially whilst great standing armies are so much in fashion all over EUROPE, and particularly in FRANCE. But with regard to a free and commercial people, there will ever be this material difference between a militia and a standing army; that the one are supposed never to be idle, and the other but seldom employed; consequently the state gets by the former in proportion to their labour, whilst the latter are of no use except upon emergencies<sup>d</sup>. The difficulty is, upon what footing to establish a militia so as to remove all occasion of jealousy. If a convenient number was supported in such counties, as the situation, or reasons of state may render most proper, under the command of a lord lieutenant, who might be a nobleman of honour and discretion, and appointed by his majesty's council; such a step might perhaps give the nation a weight, which upon a general view of things it now seems to want.

At the same time if we consider the freedom of this state, and the genius of the people, perhaps the only expedient to animate a peasant to do the duty of a soldier, whenever he is called upon, is, that he be under the command of the gentleman, who is his familiar neighbour, and who engages to share with him in one common labour. This perhaps is the only method to inspire him with just sentiments, and render him obedient to discipline. Those who urge that the officers of the army ought not be admitted into the militia, seem to give greater proof of their jealousy of the crown, than of their love to the people. Might not such officers be extremely serviceable under particular circumstances<sup>e</sup>? And were some of these such as have property in their particular counties, might they not be a means of conciliating those interests and tem-

<sup>d</sup> In FRANCE soldiers are employed in making roads and other public works, but that does not seem to be practicable in this country.

<sup>e</sup> Suppose a general, or lieutenant colonel and adjutant in particular, to discipline and exercise a regiment.



pers which too frequently clash amongst country gentlemen? Nor is there such a difference between scarlet and any other colour, but that a gentleman of the country, and another of the army, might agree perfectly in the same common interest. In short, whether any thing of this kind can CONSISTENTLY be done for us or not; let us keep up a sense of VIRTUOUS LIBERTY, and that I hope will ever render us INVINCIBLE.

Writing to the public, whatever the subject be, implies a desire to propagate an opinion, or to recommend some particular rule of conduct: but in subjects of this nature we are apt to write or read with prejudice, which is certainly not the true way to benefit by either; or, in other words, it cannot be the way to acquire just notions of things, or to render us wiser and better.

To be entirely of neither side in some controverted cases, is perhaps the only way to have a due love and respect for both; or, to speak more clearly, it is the best means of acquiring such a degree of knowledge of the interest of our country as will render us good subjects and good men. If those who ACT ought to be circumspect in their determination, surely others who have not such opportunities of informations, should deliver their opinion with care. Prejudices will ever divide mankind, and support different opinions: the people of a free state have the liberty of declaring their sentiments; nor is there any danger from thence, except from men of fierce and turbulent spirits. Common sense teaches us to compassionate the false judgments which arise from education or interest; but to observe the errors on both sides, and leave reason to judge what is best upon the whole, and what is practicable under particular circumstances, is, I presume, the task of an honest and a wise statesman. The same rule is necessary in judging of these matters as spectators only. The passions being thus restrained, and the judgment left to its natural freedom, we shall require nothing more than goodness of heart to become a nation of philosophers and patriots.

The END of the SECOND VOLUME.



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